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Notice

During the construction of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building every effort will be made to continue the customary services of the Society. However, the paramount consideration of providing protection for the collections of the Society will compel a temporary curtailment in some areas.

Therefore, researchers planning to use the library during the next year are advised to inquire in advance as to the extent that services will be available.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume 60 JUNE, 1965 Number 2

WILLIAM EDDIS: WHAT THE SOURCES SAY

By George H. Williams*

For too long a time Maryland has neglected one of her most important literary figures, a man who has given us our best account of colonial and Revolutionary Maryland and who himself played an active part in the scene he described. No story of colonial Annapolis, with its races and theatre, dances and Georgian buildings, no history of Baltimore, Hagerstown or Frederick would be complete without quotations from William Eddis's *Letters from America,* or to give his book its full name, *Letters from America, Historical and Descriptive; Comprising Occurrences from 1769 to 1777 Inclusive.* To him we look for an account of the Established Church, the land system, and

* My thanks go to the staff of the Maryland Historical Society, the Pratt Library, particularly the Maryland Department, the Hall of Records, the Land Office and the State Library in Annapolis, the Garrett Library at Evergreen, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the New York Public Library.

the indentured servant. From him we have eyewitness accounts of the burning of the *Peggy Stewart,* of the raid of the British sloop *Otter,* when Eddis himself bore the Governor's flag of truce, and of Governor Eden's final departure from Maryland. These letters, originally written to family and friends in England, were collected and published in London after the Revolution and now bring a high price on the rare book market as they have never been reprinted. Although Professor Norris has praised the "literary value" of *Letters from America*[1] and Professor Barker has said that they are "the most informing comment on pre-Revolutionary Maryland,"[2] although countless historians have cited the *Letters,* nothing has been written about Eddis himself. In fact the *Dictionary of American Biography* sums up the situation quite well when it says at the end of its article on Eddis, "Nearly all that is known of Eddis is contained in his *Letters from America.*"

William Eddis was born in England February 6, 1738 at Northleach in the Cotswolds and on June 5, 1764 married Elizabeth Mackbrand, who was to die in 1778. By this marriage there was a son, who came along to Annapolis, and a daughter who evidently died soon after birth. She is, no doubt, the "Elizabeth Powell, daughter of William Eddis by Elizabeth his wife" who was baptized at St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden, on October 26, 1768.[3] February 12, 1784 Eddis took Mary Upton for his second wife and had four more children, the eldest being Eden Eddis, father of the British portrait painter Eden Upton Eddis. William Eddis died December 14, 1825, outliving his second wife by almost twenty years. Aside from these vital statistics, which I owe to his descendant Brigadier B. L. Eddis,[4] his life in England remains largely undocumented, but the *Letters* indicate he was interested in theatre and was a close friend of William Powell, the actor, and Martha More, sister of Hannah More.[5] Furthermore Homony Club minutes reveal he was acquainted with many painters, including one "Mr.

[1] W. B. Norris, *Annapolis: Its Colonial and Naval Story* (New York, 1925), p. 89.
[2] C. A. Barker, *Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940), p. 395.
[3] *Publications of the Harleian Society* (London, 1906-09), XXXIV, 52.
[4] Letter to the author, June 2, 1960.
[5] W. Eddis, *Letters from America* (London, 1792) pp. 11, 93, 153.

Dance", most probably Nathaniel Dance.[6] His ambitions thwarted by work in the Customs and as a clerk in London he took ship for America and arrived in Annapolis September 3, 1769.

The personal side of Eddis's life in Annapolis is best revealed in the records of the Homony Club. This club, to which Eddis was elected February 16, 1771, was a fun-loving, cantankerous group including many of the most esteemed citizens of Annapolis. Among its members were Governor Eden, Thomas Johnson, William Paca, Jonathan Boucher, and Charles Willson Peale and they met together for their weekly sessions during the winter months at Mrs. Howard's Coffee House on Church Street (now Main Street). At Eddis's third meeting he was already entering into the mock-legal proceedings by protesting the omission of Paca's election in the Secretary's minutes.[7] Among other activities he was to distinguish himself by singing the club song, serving as Master of Ceremonies and by being elected President once, Secretary three times and once each Poet Laureate and Secretary for Foreign Affairs in their monthly elections.[8]

As Secretary Eddis evoked much comment. Even before he took this office Boucher wrote, in a characterization of club members:

> . . . I'm told Billy Eddis, may he never miscarry,
> Is canvassing votes to be next Secretary;
> As 'tis thought he's well suited to such an employment,
> May he have it with all its extensive enjoyment,
> And as he's a man of profound erudition,
> Discovered but lately e'en since his admission
> There's no room to doubt without making such pothers
> He'll acquit himself in it much better than others.[9]

At another time, however, his "erudition" was not enough for him to read a letter "in a celebrated heathen language," Latin as it turned out.[10] He seems to have had no equal with the pen,

[6] Homony Club Records, Jan. 16, 1772 (Original minutes in Dreer Collection, Hist. Society of Penna., microfilm in Md. Hist. Soc.).
[7] *Ibid.*, March 9, 1771.
[8] *Ibid.*, March 27, 1773.
[9] *Ibid.*, March 23, 1771 (Original poem in Gilmor Papers, III, p. 35, Md. Hist. Soc.).
[10] *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1771.

winning praise for the elegance and imagery of his language. A later Poet Laureate, Thomas Jennings wrote:

> . . . But worthy Eddis now my verse invites,
> (All surely must applaud what Eddis writes)
> Who still with ready hand and fertile head
> Records those matters which will long be read
> If purest grammar, brilliant strokes of wit,
> Or flow'ry periods can his fame transmit.
> His shining talents make us all deplore
> When he his office shall enjoy no more.[11]

His reputation did not prevent him from being admonished for the "tender sensations of humanity" he expressed in a letter dismissing a club member,[12] or more seriously, when he left the club records exposed at his home where his maidservant might see them. Thomas Johnson charged that the records were found "in Mr. Eddis's parlor actually laying on the same table with a pair of backgammon tables and Master Eddis's ninepins, together with Bysshe's *Art of Poetry*, several cards of invitation to rout, some unfinished verses, Gascoigne upon government, Swift's *Polite Conversation* and several other pieces of literature."[13]

His interest in poetry, revealed here, is shown further by some of the minutes he wrote in verse and by the following poem he wrote as Poet Laureate, which is printed with its accompanying letter:

Honorable Sir:

After the incomparable ode written by my worthy predecessor I am really ashamed to offer the following bagatelle to your honor's consideration. The truth is, I have not had an opportunity to think of this business till within these three hours and therefore hope you will please to make some allowance for the imperfection of this Parnassian shrub. I assure you Sir, I make not this excuse by way of claiming merit for an almost extempore production,—I have asserted matter of fact and submit myself to any sentence you may think proper to inflict on the most humble of your most humble servants.

W. Eddis, P.L.

[11] *Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1772 (Original poem in Dulany Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.; printed in *Md. Hist. Mag.* XXXVIII, (June, 1943) pp. 171-175.
[12] *Ibid.*, Dec. 19, 1771.
[13] *Ibid.*, Jan. 16, 1773.

TO HORSE MY BRAVE BOYS

While faction and party so madly prevail
Infecting each rank and degree,
No systems of state shall our councils assail
Our hearts all unbias'd and free.
Society charms all vexations in life
While mirth and good humor abound;
The false friend is forgot with the dull peevish wife
And the toast passes merrily round.

'Tis beef and good wine the glad spirits inspire
At once feasting body and mind,
Reason still at the helm directs each desire
The sweets of contentment to find.
Let mortals encumber'd with sorrow and care
Like us seek the means of relief;
A full flowing bumper disperses despair
And drowns all remembrance of grief.

Then let us united still join hand in hand
While friendship smooths life's rugged way.
May honor and virtue preside o'er our band
And heart-cheering mirth close each day.
'Tis union alone that fell discord destroys
Oh may she here 'stablish her pow'r,
May wit, wine, and homony heighten our joys
And smiling content bless each hour.[14]

Unfortunately faction and party were to prevail and the club apparently passed out of existence March 27, 1773.

Turning to Eddis's official life, it appears his first appointment after arriving in Annapolis was Surveyor and Searcher of His Majesty's Customs in the Port of Annapolis, which included Baltimore and Anne Arundel counties. This commission, dated September 28, 1769, was given by the Commissioners of the Customs at Boston and was in consequence of the recommendation of Governor Eden.[15] Owings says the duties were to enter ships and warehouses, break open trunks and packages, and seize goods for infringement of law, but added that the previous governor, Horatio Sharpe, had thought all the surveyorships "so

[14] *Ibid.*, March 5, 1772 (Original letter and poem in Gilmor Papers, III, p. 23).
[15] Loyalist Transcripts, XXXVI, p. 211 (New York Public Library Manuscript Room; some but not all of the Maryland information is on microfilm at Md. Hist. Soc.).

many sinecures."[16] No matter, the salary was £60 sterling per year, and fees, which Eddis said he did not receive, amounted to £100 more.[17] Presumably he had an office in the traditional Customs House, recently restored, on the Annapolis waterfront. There were two cases which report activity by him as Surveyor. In the non-importation crisis over the *Good Intent,* Governor Eden wrote, February 21, 1770, "The Collector and Surveyor of this Port, Messrs. Calvert and Eddis, have wrote fully on this head to the Commissioners of the Customs in London."[18] Later, when the *Totness* was burnt off West River, Eden wrote to Calvert, Ridout and Eddis for an investigation and got a report signed by the three of them August 12, 1775.[19]

Two other offices Eddis held are known only by his testimony in the Loyalist claims. In March 1770 Governor Eden appointed him Register of Shipping, where "his business was to issue the registers on all shipping built or sold in the province." There was no salary, only fees averaging £30 sterling per annum.[20] September 20, 1771 Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, the Proprietary's Agent, appointed Eddis his deputy at £60 sterling per annum.[21] This duty concerned the collection of quitrents and other levies that went directly to Lord Baltimore.

The most important position Eddis held was that of Commissioner of the Paper Currency Office, or Loan Office, its familiar name. Three years' residence in Maryland was required here, so it was not until September 22, 1772, just after this interval had elapsed, that Governor Eden first appointed him to this office, and later reappointed him April 29, 1773.[22] As Eddis testified, he and the other commissioner "had in their hands £210,000," the total authorized from the Currency Acts of 1766, 1769, and 1774.[23] The commissioners lent out more than half of this money, the rest going for public projects such as churches, roads and the new State House and for exchange

[16] D. M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage* (Baltimore, 1953), p. 97.
[17] Loyalist Transcripts, Temporary Claims, II, p. 160, also XXXVI, p. 211.
[18] *Md. Hist. Mag.,* II, p. 235 (Sept. 1907).
[19] *Md. Hist. Mag.* II, pp. 6-9 (March 1907).
[20] Loyalist Transcripts, XXXVI, pp. 203, 212.
[21] Loyalist Transcripts, XXXVI, pp. 207, 211-212.
[22] Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage,* p. 165.
[23] Loyalist Transcripts, Temporary Claims, II, p. 160; *Arch. Md.,* LXI, 264-275, LXII, 133-151, LXIV, 242-253.

of worn-out bills. The currency was backed by £30,000 stock in the Bank of England, which the commissioners could also draw from and lend out.[24] It is no wonder that the Act of 1769 stated that the "trust to be reposed in the said commissioners will be of very high importance to the public and will require persons of known and approved character and such as are well conversant in business and have an extensive knowledge of the circumstances of the inhabitants of this province." The commissioners, who had to be residents of Annapolis, were to attend at their office, the Old Treasury Building still standing within State Circle, every Tuesday and superintend the printing as well as sign all bills of credit, as the paper money was called.[25] The salary was as high as £117 for the year 1774, but thereafter was £90 per annum as proved by the journal and as Eddis later claimed. Fees added another ten pounds.[26]

Eddis with his fellow commissioner John Clapham and a clerk, James Brooks, carried out these duties until May 31, 1777, the last survivors of the old regime.[27] With their discharge went high praise from the new state government: "Your committee further take leave to report that from the multiplicity of business, the nature of the trust, and the care and regularity of the transactions, they are of opinion that the commissioners' and clerk's annual salaries have been very inadequate to the services they have rendered the public."[28]

Still another office Eddis held was that of Magistrate or Justice of the Peace for Anne Arundel County. He was first appointed August 24, 1773 and later, November 18, 1775, reappointed.[29] The court met in the Council House on State Circle, since destroyed,[30] and the minutes of this court between March 1774

[24] Loyalist Transcripts, Temporary Claims, II, p. 161.
[25] *Arch. Md.*, LXII, 135.
[26] Journal, Paper Currency Office, 1770, pp. 119, 129, 143, 153, 167, 177 (Hall of Records, Annapolis); Loyalist Transcripts, XXXVI, p. 207; Temporary Claims, II, p. 160.
[27] Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, p. 165.
[28] Eddis, *Letters from America*, p. 356 (The official printing, *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland, June Session, 1777*, p. 69 [State Library, Annapolis] has the committee's statement word for word except the "very" is left out).
[29] Maryland Commission Book 1726-1786, pp. 198, 208 (Hall of Records, photostat in Md. Hist. Soc.; Eddis's name is inaccurately spelled Eldis).
[30] M. L. Radoff, *Buildings of the State of Maryland at Annapolis* (Annapolis, 1954) p. 52.

and March 1775 show Eddis to have been present for twenty-eight of the thirty-three sessions. Here the justices bound apprentices and heard their complaints, adjudged runaway slaves, licensed ferries and ordinaries and generally kept the peace.[31] Another duty he had was to inspect tobacco at the Land of Ease warehouse on South River.[32]

No records can be found regarding a house in Annapolis, so it is not unlikely he rented one. He did take a fling in western lands, however, getting warrants March 26, 1774 for two tracts in Garrett County, one which he must have named himself, called Mount Parnassus and the other, more mundanely, Harry's Meadows. These were transferred to Thomas French before he left.[33] Loan Office records show he borrowed £222 April 19, 1770 with Governor Eden as security and later, April 25, 1776, £112 with Thomas French for security. Both loans were repaid after he left for England.

A careful reading of the *Maryland Gazette* adds a few more details to Eddis's life in Annapolis. He first appears in the March 8, 1770 issue as Secretary of the Jockey Club. Thereafter he reappears several times a year as Secretary through August 11, 1774, but with the cancellation of the fall races that year, racing ended in colonial Annapolis. He signs with Clapham a notice about the Loan Office, is mentioned once as having a letter at the Post Office, and was one of the signers of the protest against non-collection of British debts which the moderates of Annapolis adopted after the blockade of Boston in 1774.[34]

His chief contributions to the *Gazette* are the beautiful poem signed "Philaster" on the partisan discord of the time, July 23, 1772, and his letter counseling moderation, February 16, 1775, signed "A Friend to Amity." He identifies himself as the author of both in his *Letters* where they are reprinted in full.[35] There seems also a prologue for the opening of the improved theatre, which though unsigned is very much in his style.[36] The famous verses on the actress Sarah Hallam can not be attributed to Eddis, for Jonathan Boucher says very specifically in his *Re-*

[31] Anne Arundel County Court, Minute Book 1725-1792, Garrett Library.
[32] Anne Arundel County Court, Judgments 1773, p. 59, Hall of Records.
[33] Liber IC #Q, f. 673 (Land Office).
[34] *Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis, Oct. 17, 1776, Apr. 4, 1776, June 2, 1774.
[35] Eddis, *Letters from America*, pp. 136-139, pp. 190-198.
[36] *Md. Gaz.*, Sept. 3, 1772.

miniscences, "I also wrote some verses on one of the actresses."[37] Finally on March 27, 1777 appears his brief farewell: "I intend to leave Maryland in a short time. WILLLIAM EDDIS" On June 3, 1777, the State Council noted "License granted Wm Eddis of Annapolis to depart this state," and on June 7 he boarded ship for Yorktown and then New York.[38] While in New York, he wrote the letter dated July 23, 1777 to Governor Eden describing in great detail the inauguration of state government in Maryland.[39] After the Battle of Saratoga indicated an American victory he returned to England where he landed in Ilfracombe December 27, 1777.

Our last source of information on Eddis are the records of the Commission of Inquiry into the Losses and Services of American Loyalists. In 1778, after arriving in England, he promptly requested the assistance of Lord George Germain, then secretary of state for the colonies, to obtain an allowance of £240 sterling per annum, representing the losses from his public offices. In his memorial to Germain he asserted "that had he been inclined to have renounced his allegiance he might have had a considerable share in offices and advantages . . . That in consequence of the public calamities your memorialist was above two years separated from his wife and family. . . . That deprived of all, harassed and persecuted your memorialist at length with great hazard effected his escape on board His Majesty's frigate the *Thames* . . . That in consequence of his unblemished loyalty himself and family are reduced from a very happy situation and must experience every distress unless through your Lordship's goodness he is recommended to the honorable Board of Treasury as a proper object of His Majesty's generosity."[40] Along with the memorial went a letter from Governor Eden testifying to his conduct but not reproduced in the testimony. As a result he received an annual allowance of £100 sterling effective January 1, 1778.[41]

Later around 1783, when re-examined on this allowance, Eddis provided more personal information, declaring that his total income in America was near £500 a year. It was recorded:

[37] *Md. Gaz.*, Sept. 6, 1770; J. Boucher, *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist* (Boston and New York, 1925) p. 66.
[38] *Arch. Md.*, XVI, 271.
[39] Printed in *Md. Hist. Mag.*, II (June, 1907), 105-110.
[40] Loyalist Transcripts, XXXVI, pp. 203-207.
[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 209, 210.

"Has one son 15 years of age . . . Left no property behind him but furniture and books worth about £300—had no real property. Wishes to be employed in any part of the world. Is 45 years of age—knows the Customs and wishes to be employed when he came to England. His memorial was presented by Sir Robert Eden to the Lords of the Treasury. . . Is an Englishman and went out with Sir Robert Eden in 1769—was a clerk in the city at that time—his situation at that time was not better than it is now. Was originally in the Customs here and went from hence to Jamaica." The decision of the officials noted that "he is a man of an exceeding good character but no great property. However, we think after taking away his place in the Customs that we ought to leave him in possession of £100 a year."[42]

With the activation of the Royal Commission, charged with making a permanent settlement of the loyalist claims, Eddis submitted another memorial covering much of the same ground but with a more disheartened tone than before. Starting off by identifying himself as a resident at Maidstone in the county of Kent,[43] he states "that your memorialist has remained several years in a most disagreeable state of indolence and uncertainty subjected to many heavy and unavoidable expenses without the shadow of any provision excepting the allowance which he has hitherto received from the humanity and generosity of Government. The stations in which your memorialist had the fortune to act during his residence in America placed him in so conspicuous a point of view both as a Magistrate and public officer that he can confidently boast his having supported under every circumstance the most unblemished reputation. Every gentleman from Maryland has a competent knowledge of your memorialist and he is persuaded they will be happy in bearing testimony to his professional and private character, to his loyalty and his invariable steadiness of conduct." Again, as in the memorial to Lord Germain, he mentions the prospects of promotion he forfeited because of his allegiance to the Crown. "In consequence of this most unhappy revolution his circumstances are exceedingly embarrased and he has also to lament the irreparable loss of time at that crisis in life when it grew too

[42] Loyalist Transcripts, Temporary Claims, II, pp. 160-161.

[43] James Rigby referred later in his claim to Eddis as a resident of High Wycombe in Buckinghamshire.

late to indulge new hopes and to form new connections." He hopes to be restored to society "as an active and useful member" and requests a government position to "enable him to pass his declining years in a state of humble contentment."[44] A later entry notes that this memorial was received May 22, 1784.

On January 24, 1787, Eddis appeared in person before the Commissioners to give evidence on his memorial. Here he testified, "On the first breaking out of the rebellion he used all the influence he possessed in support of the British government, . . . nor did he ever conform to the measures of the rebels, on the contrary on the 26th June, 1776 he publicly addressed the Convention avowing his determination to adhere to his allegiance." Again he details his losses from public offices and claims £240 per annum. Two other provincial officers collaborated parts of his testimony. Robert Smith, Governor Eden's private secretary, affirmed, "Mr. Eddis acquitted himself in Maryland with zeal and attachment to Great Britain. His exertions were as great as in his power lay." James Brooks, the clerk of the Loan Office, verified the losses as Commissioner of the Loan Office, as Deputy Agent, and as Register of Shipping.[45] The final decision of the Commission merely noted that Eddis was to be awarded £180 per annum.[46]

Besides forwarding his own claim, Eddis provided information in the claim of two of the Dulanys, of Robert Smith, Henry Harford, William Sabatier and Governor Eden. In fact since Governor Eden had gone back to Maryland, Eddis was one of three to present his claim, and his last known letter, sent from Annapolis, is to Eddis about his claim.

In 1792, *Letters from America* appeared with an impressive list of 824 subscribers and by January 1794 it was reported that the publisher, C. Dilly, had only one copy left.[47]

Perhaps further research in England will turn up more material on the life of William Eddis, but until it does, the above account represents all we know on the life of this distinguished Marylander, whose promising career was so drastically cut short by the American Revolution.

[44] Loyalist Transcripts, XXXVI, pp. 197-201.
[45] *Ibid.*, XXXVI, pp. 209-213.
[46] *Ibid.*, XI, pp. 140-141.
[47] Rev. David Love to George Chalmers, mentioned in G. A. Cockroft, *The Public Life of George Chalmers* (New York, 1939) p. 18.

FREDERICK DIARY: SEPTEMBER 5-14, 1862

Edited by VIRGINIA O. BARDSLEY

Two of the three volumes of the diary of Catherine Susannah Thomas Markell[1] covering the years 1856-1898 contain many intimate details of Frederick, Maryland, during the time when it was the provisional capital. Mrs. Markell was a member of several large and complex families, her father being "George Thomas of Hy,"[2] one of the descendants of the German Thomas family in the area, who lived in the Buckeystown District. Her mother, Rebecca, was a daughter of Daniel Rogan,[3] an Irish immigrant of the late 18th century, and his wife Catherine Crawford of Maryland. Mrs. Markell's husband, Charles Frederick, son of Jacob Markell, was a prosperous merchant. Because of widespread intermarriage among and within the families, Susannah Markell appears not only to have known, but to have been on friendly terms, with a large part of the population of the vicinity, especially with the more prominent elements of town and countryside.

The Markells were Southern Rights sympathizers. Their Rogan cousins lived chiefly in the South and Southwest. Frederick Markell, arrested by Federal authorities first in 1861,[4]

[1] Mrs. Markell was born February 28, 1828. She died December 28, 1900. Her acquaintances were so extensive even at the time of the war and she referred so easily, and with such familiarity, to these notables that it is sometimes easier to identify the lesser figures in her diary than the more prominent ones. The second volume of her diary (1878-1889) is missing. The others are in the author's possession. A biography in manuscript is owned by Rogan Jones, a relative, of Bellingham, Washington.

[2] As there were families of five German brothers from the Palatinate who began to move into western Maryland during the first half of the eighteenth century (1742-6) when population there was sparse, they intermarried extensively, later giving their children names common to the family. It was possible for the family genealogist to identify them only by adding also the name of the parent. George Thomas was the son of Henry (Hy). G. Leister Thomas, *Genealogy of Thomas Family* (N.J., 1954), pp. 1-10.

[3] Daniel Rogan, a cultivated Irish immigrant, landed in Baltimore from Dublin in 1791. He never told whence he came or why or even who he was. Later his own family became extensive. James Rogan, Biography of My Life, manuscript in the author's possession.

[4] Fred Markell with Robert Johnson, a druggist, brother of the Confederate General Bradley Johnson, was arrested almost immediately after the first Battle of Bull Run. Markell had evidently been near the fighting, having gone into

more than once felt the power of Federal authority. Before most of the battles in the vicinity—Winchester, Fredericksburg, and others—he disappeared from home. Eventually he always appeared during these intervals of absence in the Confederate camp. Somehow he was able to move with apparent ease.[5] He was a close friend of the Douglas[6] and Johnson[7] families, of the Blackfords[8] and other Maryland and Virginia supporters of the Confederacy.

When the war moved closer to Richmond, the Markells sold

Virginia on the pretext of caring for his aunt's properties there. During the Valley campaign a leaf from his own diary inserted in his wife's reveals that he evidently had encounters with troops of both forces. After Antietam he was apparently away from home for weeks. Catherine Susan Markell, Diary, May, 1861—December 1863, *passim*.

[5] When Union troops moved into or within Maryland, Fred Markell left for destinations today unknown. He passed through both Union and Federal lines and across the Potomac without trying to disguise himself. On one occasion the Confederate forces holding an island in the Potomac covered his crossing with small arms fire. Yet on his return to Maryland, although arrested by the constabulary of the military tribunal at Frederick, he was released almost immediately. Just whose courier or agent he must have been is a question of mystery. One looks in vain through the diaries for mention of Confederate General D. H. Hill whose lost orders turned up so conveniently in the hands of a Union private. Neither *Battles and Leaders* (hereafter *B & L*) nor *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* offers any clues as to the whereabouts of General Hill while other general officers and their staffs were making merry at the Markell home. Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buell, eds., *Battles and Leaders* (4 vols., New York, 1956); *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of Union and Confederate Armies* (128 vols., Washington, 1902).

[6] The Reverend Robert Douglas and Mrs. Douglas were frequent visitors to the Markell home. H. Kyd Douglas also appeared there on a familiar basis when he was in the vicinity. The Douglas home, Ferry Hill, near Sharpsburg and Shepherdstown, appears in Mrs. Markell's diary to have been a meeting place for those throughout the area who sympathized with the South. No undue restrictions seem to have been placed on the family's movements in spite of Kyd Douglas's military affiliation. The Douglases departed from the Markell home to undertake a search for their wounded and captured son after Gettysburg.

[7] Mrs. Markell describes the gallantry of Colonel Bradley Johnson and his Maryland troops on the day they left to augment the ranks of Confederate Army. Although Mrs. Markell was involved in the affairs of both combatants, and remained remarkably free of bias in her remarks, one gains the impression that a large number of influential citizens were ardently in support of the Confederacy. If Lee listened to these Western Marylanders, his decision to enter the occupied State would appear justified. The only conundrum left to pose is that which suggests he was deliberately deceived.

[8] Helen Blackford of one of the Virginia families by that name in the Harper's Ferry district was on intimate terms with the Markells. In fact, she often rode out with Fred Markell on unexplained missions when she was in Frederick. Always troop movements were taking place. Once amidst poorly suppressed hilarity the Markells and their fellow conspirators, under the eyes of the military, put Helen on the train. Concealed under her clothing was so much "contraband" that she had to be hoisted up the steps by her friends.

their business and their fine home.[9] Markell was then often away from Frederick. When the war was over, the Markells traveled in the South, he dying in 1872 at the Gilmer Hotel in Columbus, Mississippi, a regular place of domicile for the family. Although Mrs. Markell visited frequently, for long periods, with friends and relatives in the South after his death, she moved her residence back to the East.

The lively, observant, gossiping qualities of Mrs. Markell, then in her middle thirties, are nowhere more evident than in her account of the exciting days before the battle near Sharpsburg. Of especial interest to those who scoff at the Barbara Frietzsche incident is an episode recorded by Mrs. Markell which seems somewhat to substantiate the poet, although Mrs. Markell's version reveals more of high spirits and derring-do than of cruel and callous bravado (*Infra*, Sept. 12 and note 21).

In other pages, on other days, Mrs. Markell elaborated no episodes not contained in the following extract.

SEPTEMBER 1862

5th Rumors of the approach of the Confederate army—Federals are burning their stores and "Skedaddling." We staid on the roof of the house until after midnight. Saw the sick from the Barrack hospital straggling, with bandaged heads etc., toward Pa.

6th At 10 o'clock A.M. two Confederate cavalrymen dashed up to the City Hotel—the first Greycoats we have ever seen. Brad Johnson followed, the army coming in all day. Capt'n H. Kyd Douglas called this evening, also Archie Drist, Mr. Bell of Leesburg, Va., & others.

7th Nellie Miller here sick all night. Many Winchester boys here—numbers of soldiers coming and going all day. General T. J. Jackson attended Ref [ormed] church at night with Capt'n Douglas. Sat in Wm. Bantz' pew, the second back of ours. Dr. Zack prayed for the President of the U. States.[10]

8th Mrs. Douglas and Robert came today. General Wm. Barksdale[11] of Miss. & staff dined with us. Sent fruit to Gen. Jubal

[9] During the war Markell was advised by his friends to sell his home. At no other time in her diaries does Mrs. Markell exhibit so much feeling as on the occasion for she usually restrained her emotions. Her photograph albums reveal her to be a patrician, a carefully disciplined woman.

[10] Mrs. Markell does not mention the fact recorded by Douglas that General Jackson fell asleep.

[11] General William Barksdale appeared again in the diaries before Gettysburg and his impending death.

Early by his brother Captain Early—some fine pears and large plums and grapes. He bought a red bandana handkerchief & tied them up in it. All the girls here assisting me to entertain soldiers were handing fruit around among the crowds in store. Gen. Barksdale advised Fred to close the store & admit buyers in squads of 10 or 12 at a time.

Gen. McLaws[12] & staff, Gen. Kershaw[13] and staff, took tea with us. Some 20 officers and many girls here until midnight. Mrs. Hanson sent us a large basket of provisions, as the stores are held by troops, and we could get none. General Barksdale secured a pass & Henry went with Cash & Billy out to Bruner's mill for flour, butter &c. Our house was brilliantly illuminated at night, & horses in charge of orderlies stood 3 deep, the length of the square. Capt'n Green of N.C., Capt'n Drist, Maj Kennedy, Maj McIntosh of S. Carolina here also. Martha O'Leary gave her pretty gold necklace to Cap'n Green in exchange for his sleeve buttons. She never saw him again.

9th Mrs. Douglas, Bob, Ginnie Myers, Alice M'Lanahan, Fannie Ebert, Annie Fout, & I visited Generals Lee, Jackson, and Longstreet at their headquarters about 2 miles south of Frederick. We took several bouquets—gave mine to Gen. Longstreet. Henry Douglas introduced us to Gen. Jackson. Gen. Lee, on landing in Md., had a fine grey horse presented to him. On mounting, he spurred it. In rearing the horse fell backward on the Gen., breaking one wrist and injuring the other. Both were bandaged almost to the finger tips, so that we could but just touch them in shaking the noble old soldier's hand. "Touch them gently, ladies," he said, when we insisted on a hand shake.[14]

Gen. Pryor[15] called, also Gen J. E. B. Stuart. The latter is a gay, rollicking Cavalier & a great favorite with the girls.

[12] Major General McLaws, then in command of a division under Longstreet. gave Mrs. Markell an autograph which is still in existence.

[13] Brigadier-General J. B. Kershaw, 1st Corps, also left an extant message.

[14] In this matter, H. Kyd Douglas was possibly confused in attributing to General Jackson an injury evidently suffered by General Lee when his wrists were injured. On the other hand, Mrs. Markell may have confused two occurrences when she, a fancier of horseflesh, considered the animal involved not the wild beast of Douglas's accounts. but, a fine animal. Contrary to the other version, Mrs. Markell agreed with Douglas's statement that the general spurred the "fine horse." Indeed, in witnessing the cataclysmic and confused activity about her, she proved to be highly selective and as acute an observer as those whose training was more pertinent than her own.

[15] Brigadier-General Roger A. Pryor, R. H. Anderson's division, with whom and his wife, Mrs. Markell had formed a lasting friendship in the early days of the war.

10th Gen. Markell of Warrenton, Va., here. Army commenced arriving. A number of officers and hundreds of soldiers here during the day. Nearly all took meals here. Many rode in ordering meals, mistaking the house, from its size, for a hotel. [Marginal note: Over 300 soldiers took meals and lunch at our house during the day.] Capt'n Jno. Bondurant,[16] Capt'n Jeff Davis Artillery, Ala., & Major Jas M'Goggin of Gen McLaws' staff (Lynchburg, Va.) here part of day—also Capt'n Henry Fontaine of Miss. Fanny Ebert & other girls here all day.

Mrs. Douglas displayed a pretty little rebel flag (which Alice M'Lanahan gave Henry) [17] at the window. Fanny Ebert had my Southern Cross, which caused great cheering. I pinned, at his earnest request, a tiny Confederate flag to the hat of a South Carolina soldier as the army passed.

11th Mrs. Douglas left. Officers, soldiers, & girls here, as usual, until late at night. Visited General Hospital. Maj. [Insert: now Colonel] David Humphries[18] of Tippah Co., Miss., called today. Richard Rogan[19] came in Tuesday, he said, & looked for me, but having forgotten the name failed to find me. Maj. H. tried to find him and Dr. Hunt & bring them back, but did not see them. I introduced Annie Fout to him and others.

12th Fred left this morning on Billy for Hagerstown. Gen'ls Jeb Stuart, Fitz Lee, Wade Hampton & all their aides with Dr. Davis Thompson, dined here. Gave Gen Stuart "Southern Yankee Doodle" which so delighted him that he called up Sweeny, his banjo player, who played and sang "Old Gray Hoss" & many others of his favorite songs. All the girls were here. Several sang for him. He gave me a piece of his plume and wrote in my autograph album. He was called down in

[16] Mrs. Markell tells of visiting the hospitals after the battle. There she met several young men who had called upon her, some of whom died. Captain John Bondurant of the 11th Alabama Infantry, Jeff Davis Rifles, had been one of the first Confederates she had met when Jackson moved into Harper's Ferry, 1861.

[17] Henry in this paper is Kyd Douglas.

[18] David Humphreys was the fiance of Mrs. Markell's cousin, Catherine Rogan of Ripley, Mississippi. Before the Dunker Church on this campaign he is reported to have distinguished himself. For his role he won his Lt. Colonelcy. He was a full Colonel when he died. Markell Diary, May 12, 1867.

[19] Richard Rogan was a brother of her cousin Catherine. Mrs. Markell's Evangeline search for him ended only when news arrived of his death following the Battle of Spotsylvania. Dr. John Hunt was a Ripley man whose family was later united to her by marriage.

the hall where a prisoner stood trembling in charge of the guard. Stuart called for a pen and ink which M'Caffrey gave him and wrote a parole on the spot. About four o'clock a courier informed the generals that the Yankee drums could be heard and the advancing columns of M'Clellan's army were in sight. Hampton had left & Lee started, but the "Cavalier" Stuart waited until his hurried command was obeyed & then formed his men in line of battle immediately in front of our house. There a considerable skirmish occurred: the Confederates slowly retiring toward the mountain, up the Middletown pike. One of the Federal cannon burst at the end of Patrick St., killing several men. A piece of our front railing was shot away.[20] We all retired to the cellar, where we found concealed an old Confederate soldier. Mr. Erasmus West, wife & children, & the O'Learys were here. We all went to the house-top after the fight to see M'Clellan's army enter. Someone hoisted a flag on Robert M'Pherson's house,[21] next to Calvin Page's which a Confederate officer spied & returning almost in the face of the enemy compelled them to take it down. Jackson started on Wednesday night & passed out church St., stopping a moment at Wm. Bantz's. Gen. Stonewall Jackson & staff stopped a second at Second St. at Rev. Jno. Ross' house. (Mr. Ross, the Presbyterian minister married a daughter of Gov. M'Dowell[22] of Va.) From thence they went to Church St., stopped at Wm Bantz's & proceeded out Mill Alley to Patrick St.; thence westward out of the city.

13th A squad of Federal cavalry came to search our house for

[20] This brief reference rather tends to substantiate the version given years later by Mrs. Abbot, Barbara Frietzsche's great-niece. In later years others remembered this one loud explosion. One additional difference is that between the narrative of Mrs. Markell and that of General Bradley Johnson concerning the skirmish on Patrick St. Johnson states that it was Hampton who directed the affray rather than Stuart, and that Fitz Lee located McClellan and reported his advance to Stuart who held the pass over Catoctin. According to Mrs. Markell, all the generals mentioned were still with her when the alarm was sounded announcing the approach of McClellan. It was evidently Hampton's brigade under direct orders from Stuart which replied to Cox's fire. *B and L,* II, 583, 584, 616, 619.

[21] This incident is probably the basis for the Barbara Frietzsche episode. Mrs. Markell mentions at other times the sudden changing of flags which occurred when the armies passed near. As Union soldiers were in possession of the immediate vicinity, apparently in force. it is doubtful that Mrs. Frietzsche was the individual involved. Her presence on her porch at the time of the change in occupation forces would lead, perhaps, to an association in public minds with the city's nonagenarian.

[22] Governor (1843-1846) James McDowell.

concealed arms & prisoners, but on being assured by father [Jacob Markell] & Major Henry Schley[23] that nothing of the kind could be found, reluctantly retired, without a search.

14th Federal Army still passing. Cavalry called (later) second time but were convinced by Maj. Henry Schley (Dr. Fairfax's father) that it was sheer folly to suspect us of concealing either soldiers or arms and abandoned the idea.

[23] Major Henry Schley was a member of the prominent family of that name which produced also Admiral Winfield Scott Schley. No blood relationship with the Thomases is evident in readily available sources. The peculiar fact that the Markells had entertained—or detained—much of the Confederate "brass" bothered the logical cavalrymen, but not Major Schley, who had known the families all his life. *B and L*, II, 619.

NUMERICAL AND DISTRIBUTIONAL ASPECTS OF MARYLAND POPULATION 1631-1840

(Cont. from December, 1959)

PART II

DISTRIBUTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS 1631-1730

By Arthur E. Karinen

The major difficulty in establishing details of population distribution and patterns of settlement during the early period is the marked time lag between dates of land warrants on one hand, and dates of patents on the other. The practice of obtaining a land warrant without having it "laid out" and patented was a device frequently used to hold options on large tracts of land, since no new tracts could be surveyed until the first warrant had been surveyed. In addition, actual settlement or occupance was often delayed for a number of years after issuance of the patent. In many cases the original patentee sold the land without ever having occupied it. For example, warrants for land within present Baltimore City were issued in 1662 but settlement did not take place until years later. Apparently speculative acquisition of lands in Baltimore County had become so great that a law was enacted in 1663 requiring that all people holding warrants in Baltimore County must "seate" the lands, or they would be declared open for others.[1]

While survey or patent dates are available for a large number of locations, actual date of settlement is given for only a limited number of the larger manors or estates. These data, however, are sufficient to delineate the pattern and spread of settlement in its broad aspects.

The first relatively reliable, contemporary information for

[1] *Arch. Md.*, I, 499.

distribution of settlement comes from Augustine Herrman's map of Virginia and Maryland of 1670 on which are located a large number of plantations, 823 within Maryland. In general the map compares well with information on settlement available from other sources. Few places known to have been occupied are omitted from his map. In transferring information from Herrman's map to a modern base some inaccuracy results from differences in detail of bays, inlets, and streams, and distortions in their size and shape.

Settlement during the 1631-1730 period was characterized by a spread from several centers rather than from a single nucleus. In addition to St. Mary's, the main centers were Kent Island, Severn River in Anne Arundel County, and the Annemessex and Manokin River settlements in Somerset County on the Eastern Shore. From these foci settlement followed, without exception, the shores of the bay and navigable estuaries and streams. This water-associated pattern was a result of the great extent of shoreline afforded by the Chesapeake Bay and the fact that the basic economic resource, tobacco, was bulky and unable to stand long overland transportation. In addition, road construction could not be undertaken until a denser settlement made it economically feasible.

The marked dependence upon water transport during the early years is clearly brought out on the population map for 1670 which is based on Herrman's map. It shows that, without exception, settlements were located in close proximity to navigable waterways. The few cases where they seem to lie inland are a result of the fact that the scale of the base map does not permit inclusion of all streams or tidal inlets.

In terms of settlement types, which cannot be shown on the scale of the general population maps, the pattern varies from large manors, with thousands of acres and numerous indentured servant and slave quarters grouped around the manor house and scattered over the estate, to individual small land holdings of a hundred acres. The manor was in nearly all aspects a self-sufficient community, obtaining the few necessities which they could not provide themselves from ships that came to their landings to pick up tobacco. Since these large plantations had their own blacksmiths, carpenters, leatherworkers and other artisans, imports from England consisted to a large extent

of luxuries in the form of fine cloth and clothes, silver, china, furniture, wines, books and similar articles.

That the manor was a significant part of the early colonial picture can be seen from the fact that St. Mary's County alone had sixteen, and records have been found of an additional thirty-seven scattered on both sides of the bay.[2] The early manors ranged in size from 1,000 to 16,000 acres.[3] How many people were associated with each is difficult, if not impossible, to say. The number obviously varied with the size of the manor since the acreage granted depended largely upon the number of indentured servants brought over from Europe. During the early days of the colony, if a man brought in five men he was given 2,000 acres. By 1636 the number had risen to ten and by 1641 he was required to bring in twenty men or women in order to receive 2,000 acres. This system continued until 1683, after which land was available only by purchase. Herrman shows 823 plantations on his map, and using the population figure for 1670, as estimated from tax lists,[4] this would give an average of about 16 persons per plantation. The number of people on some of the larger manors was undoubtedly in excess of fifty, and in some cases over a hundred. Later, as slaves became significant, the number probably ran to several hundred.

The English law of primogeniture was in effect until 1786, and even after that time the eldest son received the largest share of the family estate. This led to large land holdings.[5] The practice "of locating land warrants by selecting the most rich and fertile land without regarding any regularity of its area, or making one of its courses coincide with the boundaries of the adjacent prior patented tract" played a role in determining the pattern of land holding.[6] Much vacant land was left since small parcels could not be sold readily at prevailing prices while other land was available.

An important aspect of population distribution during the initial period was lack of towns. This lack was due partly to the fact that water transport was readily available and tobacco ships could load and unload directly at each plantation landing.

[2] Paul Wilstach, *Tidewater Maryland* (New York, 1945), p. 49.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[4] *Arch. Md.*, II, 20.
[5] *Ibid.*, VI, 52.
[6] Wilstach, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

Besides, the plantations themselves had nearly all the attributes of towns; so no central trade centers were required. Another contributing factor was the acquisition by wealthier colonists of large tracts of arable land along waterways which greatly restricted the possibilities of town or small community development such as was characteristic in New England. Prior to 1683, when the Assembly ordered towns laid out, there was only one in Maryland, namely St. Mary's. It consisted of some thirty houses spread over a distance of five miles along the St. Mary's River and running inland about one mile.[7] In 1678 the governor, in answer to queries by the Lords of Trade and Plantation, said: "The people there not affecting to build nere each other but doe as to have their houses nere the watters for convenience of trade and their lands on each side of and behynde their houses by which it happens that in most places there are not fifty houses in the space of thirty myles and for this reason it is that they have become hitherto only able to divide this Province in countyes without being able to make any subdivision into perishes or precints which is a worke not to be effected until it shall please God to encrease the number of people and soe to alter their trade as to make it necessary to build more close and to lyve in towns."[8] None of the towns established by legislative action developed to any great degree, since no economic reason for their existence was established by this action. Not until 1747, when a number were designated as tobacco inspection centers, did any of the towns have an economic justification and consequently begin to develop.

While quit-rents played an important role in the development of the Province it is difficult, if not impossible, to assess the effects on population quantitatively. There is little question that quit-rents were one of the factors instrumental in delaying settlement of the Piedmont. For years Germans from Pennsylvania were passing over the Monocacy Trail through what are now Frederick and Carroll Counties on their way to Virginia, and few, if any, stopped to take up land in Maryland until 1732-33, when the proprietor offered special inducements in the form of free land and exemption for three years from quit-rents.[9] By 1734 a number had settled near Frederick and in the

[7] *Arch. Md.*, V, 265.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Arch. Md.*, XXVIII, 25.

following years additional arrivals spread along the Monocacy River. Gould,[10] in his study of Maryland's land system from 1720-1765, also believes that quit-rents delayed settlement of the Piedmont, noting that the Germans from Pennsylvania ignored the rich lands along the Monocacy valley through which they passed on their way to Virginia. A study by Gould of the volume of Land Office business at various periods when quit-rents were changed showed that the amount of land warranted fluctuated with the amount of quit-rents.[11] Between 1728 and 1732 when quit-rents were four shillings per hundred acres, the average warranted was about 28,000 acres per year. In 1733 the quit-rent was raised to ten shillings and during the following five years, 1734-38, the average acreage warranted dropped to a little above 3,000 per year. During the following five years, in spite of the fact that the purchase price was raised from two pounds to five pounds per hundred acres, a drop in quit-rent to four shillings per hundred increased the average acreage warranted per year to about 16,000.[12]

Quit-rents also played a role in influencing size of land holdings. "In the early years of the colony, when quit-rents were so low as to be almost negligible, enormous tracts were taken up and erected into the manors so prominent at that time. The average grant in Charles County before 1650 was nearly 1200 acres. This average soon fell, however, with the advance of the quit-rents. Between 1650 and 1660 it dropped to about 200 acres and it never rose again much above that amount. During the five years of the advancement of the quit-rent to ten shillings per hundred acres in 1733 the average size of tracts warranted throughout the whole province was 158 acres; during the five years of the ten shilling rate this average fell to 74 acres and during the five years of the lowered quit-rent and advanced purchase price the average tract warranted rose to 105 acres. It is plain, therefore, that the quit-rent and, in a lesser degree, the purchase price were exerting a strong influence toward preventing individuals from monopolizing too much land. With smaller holdings naturally goes a better developed and more thickly settled country with many planters of moderate means

[10] Clarence P. Gould, "The Land System in Maryland 1720-1765." *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science,* Series 31, No. 1, 1913, p. 57.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[12] *Ibid.*

rather than a few of immense wealth. The annual rent forced owners to develop their lands and bring at least a part of it under cultivation. This meant fewer woods, more plantations, and more people."[13]

While it is impossible to trace quantitatively the movements of the settlers, it is possible to indicate the source of immigration for a few areas. The first settlers on Kent Island came from Virginia, but by the 1640's some were arriving from St. Mary's. During the early 1650's additions to the population on Kent Island were coming from the Puritan areas on the Severn and adjacent estuaries.[14]

The first settlers at St. Mary's came directly from England, but records show that in a few years a considerable number of Virginians had augmented the developments in St. Mary's County. Virginia also contributed the major share to the lower Eastern Shore settlements on the Annemessex and Manokin Rivers, with nearly all of the first group coming from Accomack County on Virginia's Eastern Shore. The initial settlements in Anne Arundel County were by Puritans from Virginia.[15] On the upper Eastern Shore numbers from the Dutch and Swedish settlements on the Delaware found their way into Maryland.[16]

As would be expected, some moved out of Maryland to adjoining states, particularly Pennsylvania during the 1690's. Note was taken, though, in the Assembly that people were moving to New Jersey and the Carolinas as well.[17]

1640

In 1640, extent of the occupied area was still rather small. The Eastern Shore settlements were confined to the southern part of Kent Island. The presence of Indians on the mainland acted as a deterrent to movement from the island until 1652, when a treaty with the Susquehanna Indians granted whites settlement rights as far south as Choptank River.

During the first years after 1634 there was little movement of population from the vicinity of St. Mary's City. In 1636 Lord

[13] Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
[14] *Arch. Md.*, LIV, xx.
[15] Matthew Page Andrews, *The Founding of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1933), p. 227.
[16] John Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 40.
[17] *Arch. Md.*, XXIII, 84.

Baltimore directed that each of the first "adventurers" should be given in "freehold" ten acres of land in the town and fields of St. Mary's and all other "adventurers" five acres for each person they had transported to the Province.[18] The reason given for this action was that it would not have been safe to have the relatively small number of people too widely scattered. By 1637, however, a sufficient number had moved west, across what is now St. Mary's River, to warrant establishment of a hundred called St. George's.[19] Two years later settlers had reached the east bank of the Wicomico River with the result that on March 16, 1639, St. Clement's Hundred was established.[20] A year later, in 1640, St. Michael's Hundred was erected apparently from parts of St. George's and St. Clement's, indicating that movement had taken place westward along the shores of the Potomac River in sufficient numbers to require further subdivision of the area.[21]

Settlement at this time, and for several decades thereafter, was completely oriented toward waterways which furnished the sole means of transport and communication over most of the Province. The only land route mentioned with any frequency in records of the period is the "Mattapany Indian Path," which connected settlements on the Patuxent with St. Mary's. Later, as settlement reached the heads of estuaries, references to paths, Indian and otherwise, occur more frequently in the survey records of land grants. The first road law in the colony was passed in 1666 and provided overseers for road maintenance. The law did not stipulate a specific size for roads until 1704 when all public roads were required to be twenty feet wide.

It is difficult to determine the average size of land holdings in the period. The types of settler varied from wealthy "gentlemen," who transported numerous indentured servants and received large land grants ranging upward of a thousand acres, to indentured servants who had to serve out their period,

[18] John L. Bozman, *History of Maryland From Its First Settlement in 1633 to the Restoration in 1660.* 2 vols.; (Baltimore, 1837), II, 40.

[19] *Arch. Md.*, III, 59.

[20] *Arch. Md.*, III, 89.

[21] According to data in the Archives from which we have our population data for 1641 and 1642, the hundreds of St. Mary's County consisted of St. Mary's, St. George's, St. Michael's, St. Clement's along the Potomac and Mattapanient on the Patuxent River. H. J. Berkeley indicates that in 1640 there was, in addition to the above, a hundred called Poplar Hill located between St. Michael's and St. Clement's.

usually five to six years, before becoming land holders. Early Land Office records[22] show that transfer of land was frequent, often increasing the larger holdings. Later rent rolls show that many of the larger holdings were being broken up into fifty to one hundred-fifty acre plots. The "Conditions of Plantation" were soon modified so as to reduce the size of grants given for transporting a given number of settlers to the Province.[23] It would seem likely that the average size of a land holding during this early period was rather large.

It appears that the widely scattered population with few concentrations that characterized Coastal settlement during the 1631-1730 period was established early. St. Mary's, which was the provincial capital until 1689, when the capital was transferred to Annapolis, never became a town of any size. The several county seats at best contained a hundred or so inhabitants.

1650

On the Eastern Shore there was essentially no change in either population distribution or numbers during the 1640-50 decade. Occupance was still confined to Kent Island with threats of Indian raids preventing movement to the mainland. It was not until 1652 that the treaty with the Susquehanna Indians opened the way to settlement on the mainland.

On the western shore the 1640-50 decade was marked by several developments. The major changes were rapid growth along the Patuxent and opening up of Anne Arundel County by the Puritans in 1649 and 1650.

Along the Potomac, *i. e.* in St. Mary's County, there was no great increase in the areal spread of population but rather a slow filling-in process. In 1640 settlements had reached the mouth of the Wicomico River, while by 1650 the occupied area reached only some five miles up the river to the vicinity of Chaptico Bay. Land Office records indicate an increasing proportion of smaller grants, but population was still widely scattered with exception of the more closely spaced settlements at St. Mary's City.

On the Patuxent River the two dozen odd inhabitants,

[22] Proprietary Records of Land Rentals, Land Office, Annapolis. Dates and areas covered vary.

[23] Bozman, *op. cit.*, II, 422.

located near its mouth in 1640, had increased to about 400 by 1650 and lived scattered along both banks for some thirty miles, to within a few miles of the present Anne Arundel-Calvert County line. There were several extensive grants with a large number of servants, but these indentured servants probably lived scattered over the estate in dwellings close to the cultivated fields.

As early as 1643 Lord Baltimore had made overtures to the Puritans of Boston, inviting them to settle in Maryland. Probably Baltimore was eager to have Puritans settle in his colony solely because he wanted and needed settlers, or perhaps he sought their presence to strengthen his position in England. With Puritans in his colony he would have a good talking point for his contention that Maryland stood for religious freedom.[24] In 1649, as a result of increasing intolerance in Virginia, a group of ten Puritan families moved to the Severn River in Anne Arundel County. They were followed in 1650 by some 200 more, who settled along the estuaries from the Severn on the north to Herring Bay on the south. We have no evidence to indicate any marked concentrations or groupings, and the pattern was most likely that of widely spaced farms along the estuary shores.

By 1650 there were four centers or groupings of population. On the western shore there were the Potomac River settlements in St. Mary's County, the Patuxent settlements or "Old" Charles County (changed four years later to Calvert), and the Anne Arundel County settlements. On the Eastern Shore there was the small group still confined to Kent Island.

1660

By 1660 settlement of the Eastern Shore mainland was beginning but how far it had progressed is not clear. Some people from Kent Island had undoubtedly moved over to the adjoining mainland, but how far and in what numbers is not known. Beginning in the latter part of October, 1658, a large number of land grants were made in what is today Talbot County. These were not "seated" immediately. There is some question as to whether the first settlement on the Manokin and Annemessex

[24] Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

Rivers in Somerset County took place in 1660 or 1661. McSherry states that development began after Lord Baltimore issued in 1661 a commission to Edmond Scarborough, John Elsy, and Randal Revel to make settlements and grant lands on the Eastern Shore.[25] Torrence indicates that the Annemessex settlements were forming in the latter part of 1661.[26] In the *Archives of Maryland* it is stated that the first wave of immigration into Somerset County took place in 1660.[27]

In 1660 all of the Eastern Shore south of an undefined line running east-west through the center of present Kent County was included in Kent County. The first division took place in 1662 when Talbot County was erected. The 1660 tax levy for Kent County lists 152 tithables which is probably equivalent to a population of some 360.[28] It is possible that these figures refer only to Kent Island and adjacent mainland, and do not include the Manokin and Annemessex settlement. By 1662 the number of tithables at Manokin and Annemessex was 50,[29] indicating that in 1660 the number of people would have been rather small. The Puritan predominance in England and the control of Maryland by the Puritans during the 1650's limited the effectiveness of Lord Baltimore's attempts to develop the Eastern Shore. This delay, in addition to that occasioned by the presence of Indians prior to the treaty of 1652, caused the lag in Eastern Shore settlement.

In 1660 the Eastern Shore population pattern was still largely dominated by Kent Island. Only a few settlers had moved north onto Eastern Neck in present Kent County. To the eastward the extent of the spread of settlement was also limited. In what is now Cecil County there were a few isolated plantations scattered along shores of the major estuaries. Southward on the Eastern Shore there were none other than those on the Manokin and Annemessex Rivers in Somerset County. Those on the Annemessex had moved over into Maryland from Virginia's Eastern Shore to escape the repressive Quaker laws of Governor Berkeley. The group settling on the Manokin were members of

[25] James McSherry, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1904), p. 94.
[26] Rev. Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Richmond, 1935), p. 26.
[27] *Arch. Md.*, LIII, xxvii.
[28] *Arch. Md.*, LIV, 231.
[29] *Ibid.*, III, 452.

the Church of England and are supposed to have moved to Maryland for economic reasons.[30]

On the western shore the basic change in population distribution during the 1650-60 decade was development of the centers on the Potomac, the Patuxent, and in Anne Arundel County. In what are now Baltimore and Harford Counties there were as yet only a few scattered plantations or farms.

During the 1640-50 decade settlement along the Potomac developed slowly while it spread very rapidly along the Patuxent. The following decade witnessed a reversal of this pattern, with settlement along the Potomac expanding markedly while along the Patuxent it remained nearly static.

By 1660 the Potomac settlements had spread to the right bank of the Nanjemoy River. The increase in population and the increasing distance to the county court at St. Mary's made it necessary to subdivide the area in 1658 and erect a new county, named Charles. In the earlier occupied parts of St. Mary's County settlement was not yet spreading inland since few or no roads existed and land was still available on the navigable waterways.

On the Patuxent, spread of population up the river had halted temporarily and filling-in along the shores was taking place. Settlements reached only as far as the present Anne Arundel-Calvert County boundary, a movement of some five miles in ten years. There seems to be no particular explanation for this slowing down, unless officials had decided that unoccupied lands lying between patented lands should be allocated before new lands farther upstream were opened up.

The Puritan settlements in Anne Arundel County were increasing rapidly in population, but the area of occupance was not expanding significantly. The pattern of growth was primarily that of a filling-in process along the previously occupied estuary shores.

During the 1650-60 decade the four centers of settlement in Maryland had grown, primarily in numbers, resulting in a somewhat denser population. Only along the Potomac had settlement spread some distance upstream. There were no urban centers nor were there any concentrations of population except for St. Mary's City. The end of the decade saw the be-

[30] Torrence, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

ginning of development around the head of the bay and along the southern part of the Eastern Shore. In all areas settlement was still water-oriented with few, if any, located at a distance from waterways.

1670

In terms of distribution of population, the data for 1670 are probably the most reliable of any for the 1631-1730 period because of Augustine Herrman's Map of Virginia and Maryland in 1670. His location of plantations makes it possible to determine the areal pattern of settlement in 1670. As has been pointed out before, not all places occupied by 1670 are indicated on the map, but those omitted are relatively few in number. Numerically the data for 1670 are relatively good, with a taxable listing by counties available for 1671, which permits a reliable interpolation of population distribution for 1670. There are no data for divisions smaller than counties.

During the 1660-70 decade population spread rapidly along both sides of the bay, especially on the Eastern Shore. The Kent Island center, which in 1660 had only begun to expand to the mainland, grew rapidly. Settlements took place along the estuaries of Talbot County, as well as along both banks of the Choptank River as far upstream as the Tuckahoe. Less development occurred to the north of Kent Island. The Manokin and Annemessex areas expanded along the shores of the bay, as well as up the major estuaries and streams. Scattered population along the Pocomoke River reached to the vicinity of the present Worcester-Somerset line, with a few isolated plantations facing Sinnepuxent Bay on the Atlantic. To encourage settlement on the Atlantic side of the Eastern Shore, the Proprietor, on October 22, 1669, reduced the rent for anyone who was willing to settle there to a shilling per fifty acres.[31] Apparently there were not enough settlers on the Atlantic side of Somerset County to warrant the building of roads, since in 1668 when the court proceeded to lay out county highways none were included for the area east of Pocomoke River.[32] Around the head of Chesapeake Bay, in Cecil and northern Kent Coun-

[31] Edward B. Mathews, *The Counties of Maryland,* Md. Geol. Sur. Special Publication, Vol. III, Part 5 (Baltimore, 1907), p. 542.
[32] *Arch. Md.,* XIV, 652.

ties, there was primarily a filling-in of population along the shores of the bay and estuaries. The areas along the Sassafras and Bohemia Rivers show up as somewhat more densely settled.

On the western shore of the bay the major extension of settlement was a spread up the Potomac from Nanjemoy to Mattawoman Creek; second in importance was the growth along the bay in Calvert County. The area of settlement along the Patuxent expanded only slightly during the decade.

For the major part the 1660-70 decade was characterized by a filling-in process along previously occupied shorelines. Settlement of Baltimore County was proceeding very slowly, probably because of its greater exposure to Indian raids.

Water as a means of transportation and communication still played a dominant role in determining the location of settlement. On Herrman's Map scarcely a plantation is located away from navigable streams. Each plantation could load tobacco more or less directly onto vessels and receive goods ordered from England, thus obviating the necessity for any trading centers or towns.

1680

The changes that took place during the 1670-80 decade were of two kinds: a continuation of the spread along navigable streams and the beginning of a spread from the older settled areas into some of the interstream sections. On the Eastern Shore the spread along estuaries and rivers continued. By 1680 population reached some twenty miles up the Nanticoke and Chester Rivers. The Pocomoke had scattered settlements about as far as the Wicomico County border. All were still close to navigable waterways.

On the western shore of the bay the character of development was beginning to change. Along the Potomac, the spread upstream from Mattawoman Creek was temporarily halted by the Indian settlement on the Potomac above Mattawoman Creek. Along the Patuxent, occupance had reached the head of navigation so that new riverine areas were no longer available. In these two older sections the people began to move into the interstream areas away from the immediate vicinity of water.

In Anne Arundel County the filling-in process along the shore continued. In Baltimore County, with its thin population

scattered along the shores, the pattern of development was a movement toward heads of the various estuaries. Along the Patapsco a strip of sparse population extended to the vicinity of what is now Ellicott City. The Susquehanna River banks were, as yet, unsettled.

1690

The 1680-90 decade was characterized by a continuation of the growth patterns of the previous period. In the older settled counties more and more land was taken up in interstream areas while in newer areas the process continued to be primarily one of filling-up along the water fronts. Baltimore County with a very sparse and widely scattered population was still lagging behind.

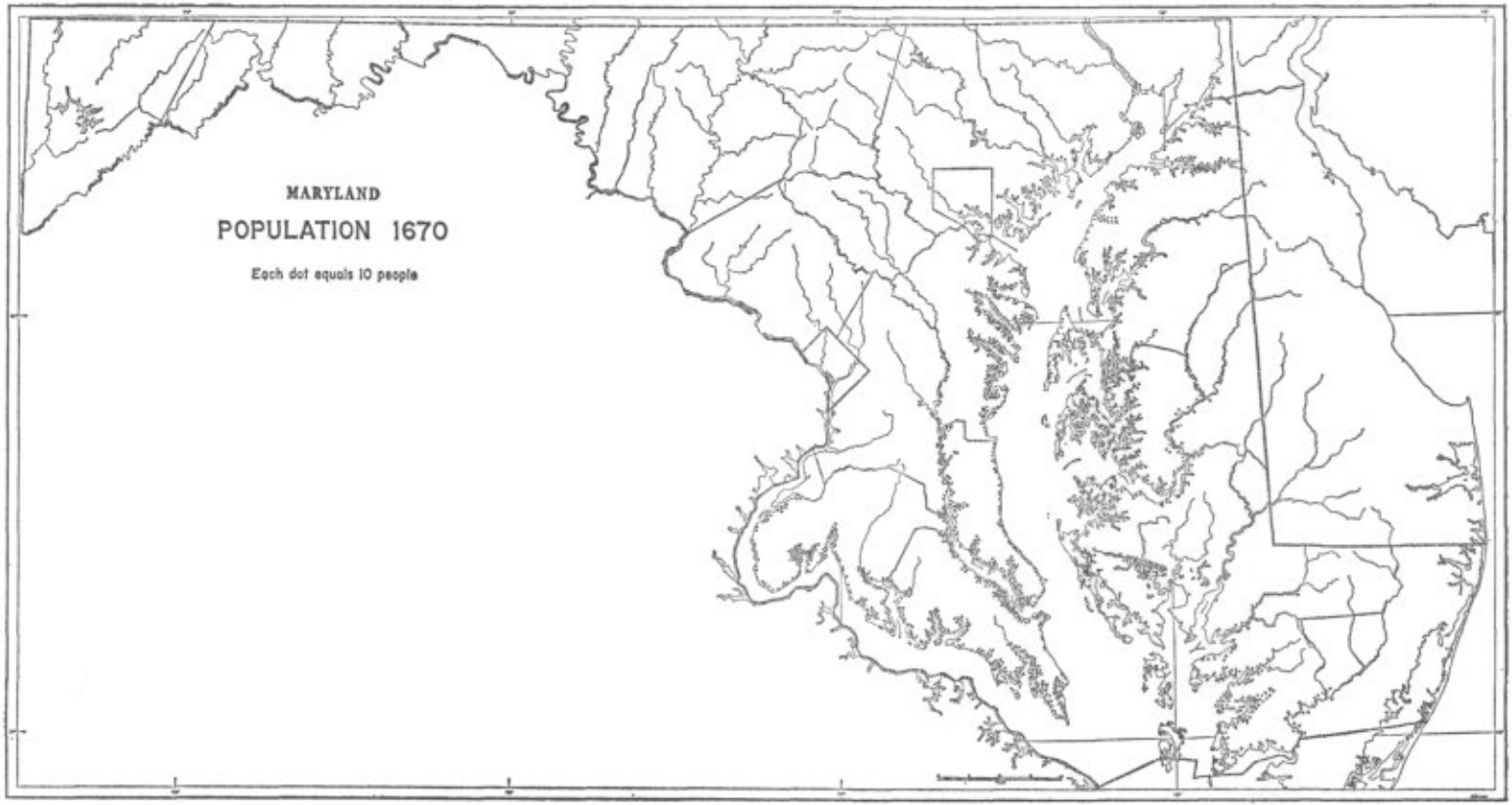
On the Potomac and Patuxent there was little expansion of settlement upstream, the major feature being movement into interstream areas. In Anne Arundel County a similar movement into interstream areas was taking place.

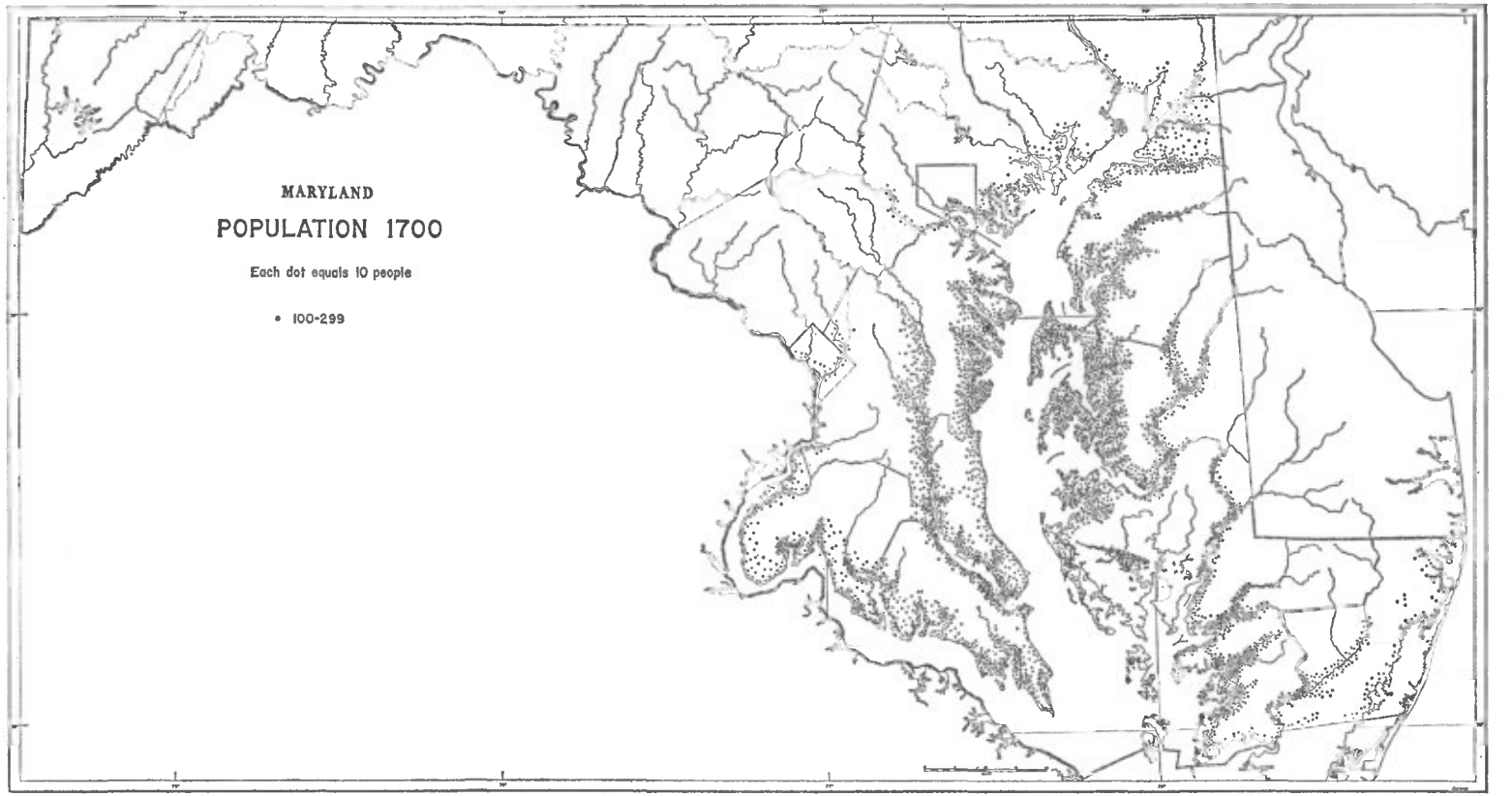
On the Eastern Shore there was also the beginning of a movement to lands away from the waterfront, though it was not as marked. In southern Dorchester County a considerable stretch of shore line remained unoccupied because of its low and swampy nature. Even today there is little settlement in this section. There is danger, however, in considering areas that are unoccupied today as never having been occupied, since there are references in the literature to colonial house foundations that are now exposed at low tide.

In 1683 the Assembly passed an "act for establishment of cities."[33] None of the sites set aside by the act had developed by 1690, and very few ever became permanent cities or towns of any size.

The practice of granting land for bringing in colonists was dropped in 1683 and land became available only by purchase. This change apparently had no marked effect on population growth for the Province as a whole. Locally, there was a slowing down of the rate of increase on the Eastern Shore, but whether or not this can be attributed to the change is debatable.

[33] Lewis W. Wilhelm, *Local Institutions of Maryland–Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Series 3, Nos. 5, 6, and 7. 1885, p. 101.


MARYLAND
POPULATION 1670
Each dot equals 10 people


MARYLAND
POPULATION 1700
Each dot equals 10 people
• 100-299

1700

In 1700 for the first time usable population data are available for areas smaller than counties. In 1692, with the establishment of the Church of England, the Province was divided into parishes, usually several to a county. Each taxable person was assessed an amount of tobacco for support of the parish. The church or parish records often give the number of taxables, and from this figure population numbers can be estimated. In addition, county population figures appear in a report by Gov. Blakiston dated April 3, 1701.[34] In this report taxed and untaxed inhabitants are listed on the basis of which taxable ratios for each of the counties can be established, thus permitting a more accurate calculation of population by parishes. The date, April 3, is so early in the year that no great error will result if these figures are used for 1700, and it is possible that the data in reality do apply to 1700.

Changes in distribution of population during the 1690-1700 decade followed the pattern of the previous decade. In the older settled sections the movement into interstream areas continued. In newer areas the movement was upstream, with a filling-in along the waterfront. Along the Potomac, where the Piscataway Indian reservation held back settlement, there was a bypassing movement. Settlements spread to the south bank of Piscataway Creek and skipped a ten mile stretch to what is now the District of Columbia. Along the Potomac and Anacostia, and along the Northwest Branch in Prince George's County there were scattered farms.

Baltimore and Harford Counties and Cecil County west of Elk River were still rather sparsely settled. A more detailed study of local conditions may reveal the reasons. Possibly land speculation was one of them since the practice of not having land warrants surveyed enabled a few men to hold up the survey of any subsequent warrants, thus preventing settlement of a particular region.[35] During the 1690's there was apparently a significant movement of people out of the Province. In the Assembly attention was called to the "enticing" of people by Pennsylvanians. Baltimore, Harford and Cecil Counties, lying

[34] *Arch. Md.*, XXV, 255.
[35] Gould, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

close to Pennsylvania, would have been most affected. Whether either or both of these situations played a significant role in delaying their settlement cannot be stated with assurance. By 1699 Annapolis had some 40 dwelling houses,[36] which meant a population of some 240, probably making it the largest town in the Province.

On the Eastern Shore the major development was the relatively rapid extension of settlement on the Atlantic side. For the remainder, development was an expansion upstream along the major estuaries and a movement into the interstream areas.

1710

During the 1700-10 decade there were no marked changes in the pattern of development. The movement into interstream areas in the older settled parts continued, as did expansion up the stream valleys and estuaries. The area between Piscataway Creek and Anacostia was by now opening up, and population in the present District of Columbia area and adjacent Prince George's County was becoming denser. Settlement on the Patuxent had reached the vicinity of Laurel. During this decade Prince George's had the second most rapid growth rate of the counties. Baltimore County finally showed an appreciable growth with an increase of nearly 90 percent since 1700. Population along the shores of the bay and estuaries was increasing, with some settlement reaching beyond the tidal estuaries.

On the Eastern Shore filling-in along the shores continued and there was a general movement into interstream areas. Dorchester County still had several large sections that were unoccupied because of their swampy nature. Another large unsettled area lay in the interior of Somerset County, including what later became Wicomico County.

1720

No great distributional changes took place during the 1710-20 decade. The most significant seems to have been the spread into interstream areas, rather than any appreciable extension up the streams.

[36] Ethan Allen, *Historical Notices of St. Ann's Parish in Ann Arundel County, Maryland, Extending From 1649 to 1857* (Baltimore, 1857), p. 33.

The greatest change during the decade occurred in Dorchester County where the shores of the Honga River, heretofore unoccupied, were settled. There were still more-or-less unoccupied areas in the interior of all Eastern Shore counties. No urban centers existed as yet on the Eastern Shore. On the western shore Annapolis, since its selection as the seat of government, was growing but was still far from being a city in the modern sense of the term.

1730

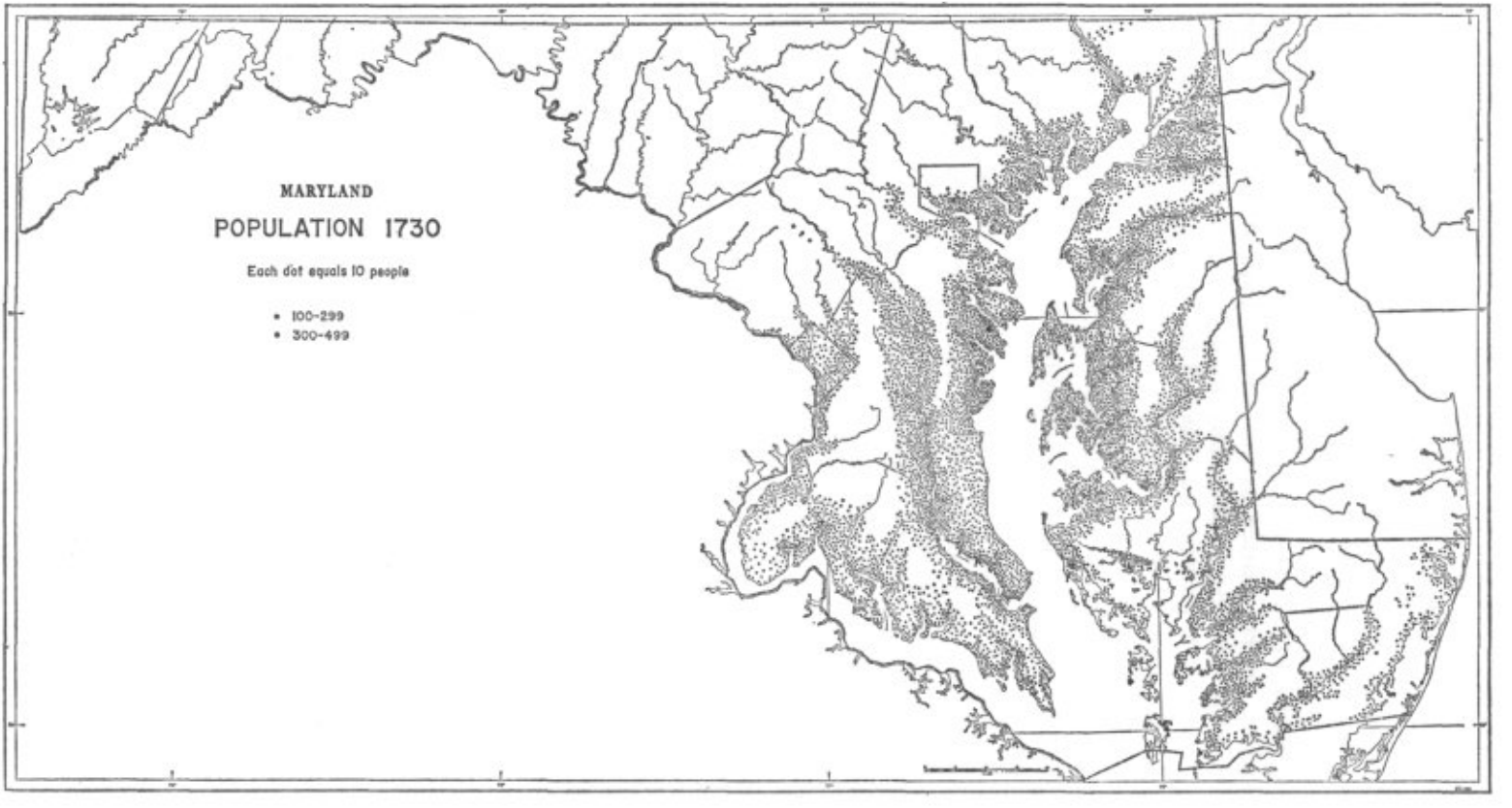
The county population figures for 1730, with the exception of those for Queen Annes County, were obtained by interpolation from 1733 data.[37] Parish records listing taxables permitted calculation of population for a few areas smaller than counties.[38]

1730 marks the end of the first period of settlement. During the following decade penetration of the Piedmont region began. By 1730 there were only a few scattered settlers on the eastern edge of the Piedmont, primarily along stream valleys such as those of the Potomac and its branches near the District of Columbia, along the Patuxent a few miles above Laurel, and along the Susquehanna as far as Octoraro Creek.

The Coastal Plain of the western shore was settled, except for small interior areas in Charles, Prince George's and Anne Arundel Counties. In the Eastern Shore region somewhat more extensive areas were still vacant, especially adjacent to the unmarked Delaware border, which discouraged settlement.

This decade was a period of economic distress for the Province. The price of tobacco, the sole cash crop, was down due to overproduction. In 1732 the militia was ordered to be prepared to stop people dissatisfied with dropping tobacco prices from cutting tobacco plants.[39] The effects, if any, on population growth and distribution are difficult to determine. Population growth during the 1720-30 decade did not markedly differ from that of previous periods, though during the following decade it was slightly less. The greatest increases were in the more recently settled frontier counties of Prince George's and

[37] *Arch. Md.*, XXVIII, 52.
[38] Various Parish Records on file at the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, and the Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.
[39] *Arch. Md.*, XXVIII, 8.


MARYLAND
POPULATION 1730
Each dot equals 10 people
• 100-299
• 300-499

Baltimore, with older counties showing somewhat lower rates.

Not enough data are available to determine whether or not there was any appreciable population movement resulting from the abandonment of the older lands, the fertility of which tended to deteriorate under constant tobacco cultivation. Craven[40] believes that the planter could count on no more than three or four tobacco crops before the land had to be given over to corn and wheat for a few years and then abandoned to pine sedge and sorrell. After some twenty years it could be used again for tobacco production.[41] The tobacco economy needed a constant supply of new land which, depending on the size of the farm, would eventually require movement to new, unsettled areas with fresh soils.

There were as yet no cities, but only a few towns, of which Annapolis, the capital, was the largest. By this time St. Mary's had declined. Baltimore was only a hamlet of some 50 inhabitants. We have little information as to other centers of population, though it is probable that the county seats may have had, from time to time, 50 or more inhabitants. Mention is made of other towns, but they consist of such notations as "Vienna (Dorchester County) founded in 1700 was a thriving place by 1776,"[42] or "around these two buildings there grew up quite a village called Yorke"[43] or in the list of hundreds in Charles County, "Upper part of King and Queen Parish including Bennedict Town."[44]

[40] Avery O. Craven, *Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland 1606-1860. University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences,* Vol. XIII, No. 1, March, 1925, p. 32.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Charles B. Clark, *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia.* 2 Vols. (New York, 1950), 1014.

[43] Percy G. Skirven, *The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1923), p. 144.

[44] *Arch. Md.,* XXIII, 23.

MUCH WEALTH AND INTELLIGENCE: THE PRESBYTERY OF PATAPSCO

By HAROLD M. PARKER, JR.

As a result of the bitterness and confusion which developed in the Old School Presbyterian Church immediately following the War, three bodies of Presbyterians withdrew from the parent body, entered separate individual existences for a period of time, and then united with the Southern Presbyterian Church. The first of these Border State groups to withdraw and unite with the Southern Church was the Presbytery of Patapsco.

The accessions of these three groups, including the Synods of Kentucky and Missouri, widened the borders of the Southern Presbyterian Church from the confines of the old Confederacy into areas that had not withdrawn from the Union. And the union with these three groups came as the immediate results not of the War, but of the manner in which the Northern Presbyterians sought to deal with their estranged Southern brethren. As former slave States, Maryland, Missouri and Kentucky contained strong sympathetic elements for the Southern cause.[1] Thus the religious reconstruction in the Presbyterian Church only drove many of the Presbyterians in those States into the Southern arms.

When the Old School-New School division came in 1837 the Maryland Presbyterians remained in the former group, and by the time the War was over only a few of the Maryland congregations were counted in the Southern Church.[2] But during the bitter reconstruction which followed in the Presbyterian Church a stronger foothold was gained in Maryland when some of the Old School congregations defected.[3] The legislation of the Old

[1] It was estimated that between one-third to two-thirds of the churches of the Presbytery of Baltimore sympathized with the South during the War, MSS "Minutes," Presbytery of Baltimore, V, 534-35.

[2] Bernard C. Steiner, "Maryland's Religious History," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXI (January, 1926), 8.

[3] In the first statistical report published after the Civil War the Southern Presbyterian Church (Presbyterian Church in the United States) listed only six congregations in the State of Maryland, all in the Presbytery of Potomac, Synod of Virginia, *Minutes*, General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, 1866, p. 113. Minutes hereafter abbreviated GAPCUS.

School General Assembly in 1865 and 1866 culminated in the division of the Maryland Presbyterians and the union of a small number with their spiritual kindred in the South.[4] Had any degree of charity been extended toward the ministers and churches of the former Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America after the War there would be no Southern Presbyterian Church in Baltimore today.

The first indication that there was some sympathy in Maryland toward the South was revealed in the report of Union Theological Seminary of Virginia to the General Assembly of the Southern Church in 1865. In the summer following the close of the War "some benevolent persons" in Baltimore sent gifts of money and goods and invited one of the professors to visit Baltimore to receive further collections for the temporary support of the Seminary. The response was very heartening. After spending three weeks in that city, the professor left and further efforts to raise funds were placed in the hands "of a most efficient and zealous clergy[man]" of Baltimore. Over $6,000 was raised in cash and pledges.[5]

Who was the "efficient and zealous" clergyman? It was undoubtedly the Rev. J. J. Bullock, D.D., pastor of the influential Franklin Street Church.[6] This divine was a man of varied talents. He had been the first Superintendent of the Public Instruction for the State of Kentucky. He was a son of the Walnut Hill Church near Lexington, Kentucky. While pastor of the Frankfort, Kentucky, congregation he was called to the position with the State. In 1848 he was called to the pulpit of his home church. His ability as an orator was recognized when he was called upon to deliver the prayer at the service of interment for Daniel Boone's body when it was brought back to Kentucky for final rest. When he was settled as pastor over the Walnut Hill congregation one of the strongest installation committees ever assembled for such a service officiated at the instal-

[4] The most recent study of Presbyterianism in Maryland suggests that the defection of ministers in the Border States was not due so much to ecclesiastical legislation as to "unprincipled men" who held high places in the Federal Government. Robert Picken Davis, "Maryland Presbyterian History," an unpublished dissertation at Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, 400—hereafter cited Davis, "Maryland."

[5] *Minutes*, GAPCUS, 1865, pp. 412-13.

[6] Bullock did not attend the meetings of the Presbytery of Baltimore during the War, "lest he have to take action which would not be for the peace and harmony of that Church court," Davis, "Maryland," 403-04.

lation: Samuel J. Baird presided, Robert J. Breckinridge preached, Stuart Robinson charged the pastor, and John Howe Brown charged the congregation. While at Walnut Hill he was elected Moderator of the Synod of Kentucky in 1850. In 1853 he went to the Second Church of Louisville, but returned to the church of his fathers in 1855 and remained at Walnut Hill until 1860 when he was called to the Franklin Street Church in Baltimore. He remained there until 1870. He was later elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church.[7] This "genial, heart conquering"[8] man also served as Chaplain of the United States Senate, 1879-1884.

The Franklin Street Church was certainly not the least among the tribes of Baltimore's Judah, either. Organized in 1847, it called as its first pastor the noted Dr. William Swan Plumer, defender of Old School theology and polity and a man also destined to become Moderator of the Southern Presbyterian Church. Dr. Plumer came to Baltimore from Richmond, which may account for the Southern affinity the congregation had. He remained pastor until 1854.[9] In 1868 the Southern General Assembly met in this church. Here was a congregation situated in the Border area that had been pastored by two men of outstanding ability from the Border and Southern areas. It comes as no surprise to note that when the storms of the post-bellum Assemblies broke in fury over the Church the Franklin Street Church rose in protest and withdrew from the authority of the Old School Assembly along with its pastor.[10]

The Beginning of Patapsco Presbytery

It was with editorial delight that the *Presbyterian Index* announced the secession of the Franklin Street Church from the Old School in the summer of 1866.[11] The withdrawal of the

[7] Robert Stuart Sanders, *History of the Walnut Hill Presbyterian Church* (Frankfort, Kentucky, 1956), pp. 44-48; S. M. Tenney, *Souvenir of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of U.S.* (San Antonio, 1924), p. 61.

[8] *Free Christian Commonwealth,* November 28, 1867.

[9] Henry Alexander White, *Southern Presbyterian Leaders* (New York, 1911), p. 290.

[10] The Presbytery of Baltimore did not always stand fully behind the actions of the post-War Assemblies. On one occasion it opined, "The War having closed, it would seem the especial mission of the Church rather to heal, than to widen and perpetuate breaches," MSS "Minutes," Presbytery of Baltimore, V, 659.

[11] *Presbyterian Index,* June 28, 1866. This paper was most antagonistic toward

church came as the result of a three hour address by Dr. Bullock in which he stated his reasons for leaving the Church in which he had been born, raised and nurtured.

Bullock's address remains as a monument to the emotion and thought of a by-gone dark day in Presbyterian history. The date was June 12, 1866, just a few days after the close of the fateful St. Louis General Assembly, noted for its exclusion of the commissioners from Louisville Presbytery and its passage of the infamous Gurley *Ipso Facto* Order. The scene was the church building in which he had preached for five years unflinchingly against the political deliverances of the Old School Assembly, much as had Elijah and other prophets denounced the political alliances of the Kings of Israel. The topic was very simple and to the point: he was giving his reasons for withdrawing from the Old School.

His remarks began with a review of the recent history of the Old School's actions, actions that revealed a transitoriness that did not belong in the highest court of the Church. Both the ministry and the Church "have a fixed and perfect standard of truth and duty, and have no right to be swayed in the pulpit or in the Church-courts by the ever-changing currents of public opinion, or to take their hue from the popular excitements prevailing around them," he declared.[12] Holding unalterably to the thesis that the Church exists solely to minister to and in a spiritual realm, he then entered the arena of history.

> All history attests that the Church that neglects her own proper work and undertakes to do the work of Caesar is wholly untrustworthy, unfaithful to herself and to her great Head and King. She will prove equally unfaithful to the state in the day of trial. In the name of religion and liberty we protest against the unnatural and monstrous union of Church and State. We plead for entire separation between things spiritual and ecclesiastical, and things political and civil.[13]

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the Northern Old School as a result of the Assemblies of 1865-1867. It went so far as to prophesy a general exodus out of the Old School into the ranks of the Southern Church.

[12] J. J. Bullock, *Rev. J. J. Bullock's Address to His Congregation at the Franklin Street Presbyterian Church, Baltimore, Giving His Reasons for Dissolving His Connection with the Old School General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, June 12, 1866* (Baltimore, 1866), p. 5.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

He dismissed the acts of 1866 as "unscriptural, unconstitutional and cruel orders." Only the Headship of Christ over His Church can be obeyed, and this means the Church is both spiritual and independent. The very Standards of the Presbyterian Church taught this. Thus his reason for leaving:

> I can firmly stand upon the simple basis of our acknowledged standards. I will not and I cannot stand upon any basis which is in direct contravention to the word of God as interpreted by those standards. Brethren, in view of these things, I can no longer remain in connection with this General Assembly and the Church of which it is the bond of union. My connection with it would be *formal, hollow-hearted, hypocritical.* I cannot afford to sacrifice my own self respect [sic] and conscience, and to lose the smiles of God and the confidence of good men, to propitiate the favor of the great Sanhedrim [sic] of the Church and secure for myself ease, comfort and every worldly blessing.[14]

The address was hailed by his ecclesiastical kinsmen in Kentucky as "open, manly, honest, straightforward." It was further described as "one of the documents which deserves to be universally read by all who would acquaint themselves with the issues between the General Assembly and the churches which are separating from it."[15]

A few days later one of the members of the Franklin Street Church remarked that he and others became members of the Presbyterian Church not to advance political views, to listen to discussions on the policy of the country, but rather to advance the Kingdom of Christ. Having tried remonstrances, arguments, appeals, protests, denunciations in vain, the only step that remained was for the Franklin Street congregation to withdraw from the Church.[16] In a series of lengthy resolutions the congregation reaffirmed its adherence to the Standards of the Presbyterian Church, expressed its patience with the General Assembly's recent actions which were a departure from ecclesiastical subjects, especially establishing new terms for membership in the church. Since the congregation could no longer remain in connection with the General Assembly the Session was authorized to seek out connection with other Presbyterian churches in the United States holding the same faith. The resolutions con-

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 41.
[15] *Free Christian Commonwealth*, July 12, 1866.
[16] *Ibid.*, June 21, 1866 .

cluded with the congregation expressing its duty to maintain Old School Presbyterianism in its constitution and standards, and to unite with other congregations who not only would comply with the standards of the Church, but would also refrain from bringing into Church judicatories any "civil matters or questions of State policy," but would confine themselves solely to "ecclesiastical subjects and the spread and growth of Christianity."[17]

Where did they intend to go? The United Presbyterian Church of North America had failed to keep her skirts clean during the War;[18] the Cumberland Presbyterians were far removed from the Old School theology, especially as represented by Hodge, Plumer, and the late Dr. Thornwell; the New School Assembly was equally as guilty as the Old School in passing legislation on matters that could be considered as dealing with "civil matters or questions of State policy." What remained? There was either the almost insurmountable possibility that other congregations would also withdraw and form a politically-conservative Presbyterian Church, or union with the Southern Presbyterian Church—the nearest, as well as a contiguous, Presbyterian judicatory. In spite of opposition by a handful of persons,[19] both the congregation and the property accompanied Bullock in his exodus from the Old School.

The young Rev. Jacob Amos Lefevre and the Franklin Square Church of Baltimore followed Bullock and the Franklin Street Church. At the congregational meeting of Franklin Square Church Mr. Lefevre reviewed the actions of the General Assembly beginning with the slavery legislation of 1845. Using this legislation as a norm, he denounced the actions of the recent Assemblies as "contrary to the standards of the Church and against its Constitutional laws." He withdrew, taking his congregation with him. "It was impossible that a congregation under such a man should acquiesce in the arbitrary edicts of the Assembly of 1866," commented the *Free Christian Commonwealth* July 5, 1866.

The Rev. Jacob A. Lefevre was "an able, earnest and effective

[17] *The Presbyterian,* June 23, 1866; *Free Christian Commonwealth,* June 21, 1866.

[18] *Vide* Chapter X, "The Organic Unions of the Southern Presbyterian Church, 1863-1874," unpublished MS by author in the Presbyterian Historical Foundation, Montreat, North Carolina.

[19] *Presbyterian Index,* June 28, 1866.

preacher, a good pastor, and . . . blessed in his ministry."[20] "Noble hearted and scholarly," "a very George Gillespie of a boy,"[21] of a scholarly nature, his sermons were those of a professor.[22] The name of Lefevre was so linked to that of Bullock that when the name of one is read in connection with the Presbytery of Patapsco that of the other inevitably appears. They both supplemented and augmented one another in the crucial days of the conception and birth of the Presbytery of Patapsco. Had they not found mutual comfort and purpose in their intent to withdraw, the history of Presbyterianism in Maryland might have been quite different than its subsequent development.

It ultimately became necessary for the Presbytery of Baltimore to deal with its two contumacious members. In July, shortly after both had announced their withdrawal from the jurisdiction of the General Assembly, a committee was appointed to confer with them "on the propriety of their return to the Presbytery." The committee was met with a firm reply: "We cannot continue in connection with any ecclesiastical bodies or tribunals whilst they do not act in conformity with the standards of the Presbyterian Church, and persistently violate them." After considerable debate and discussion, centered mostly around procedure, the Presbytery struck their names from the Roll.[23]

From June, 1866, until November the two congregations and the two ministers had no formal ecclesiastical connection. Then the Presbytery of Patapsco was organized.

The Organization of the Presbytery

The organization of the new Presbytery found the Franklin Street Church well filled with Presbyterians who endorsed the actions of Dr. Bullock and Mr. Lefevre in withdrawing from the jurisdiction of the General Assembly, on the ground that the

[20] "Lefevre, Rev. Jacob Amos," *Encyclopedia of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America: Including the Northern and Southern Assemblies,* ed. Alfred Nevin (Philadelphia, 1884), p. 423. He was later elected President of Davidson College, but presbytery refused to release him from his pastorate, Cornelia Rebekah Shaw, *Davidson College* (New York, 1923), 159. He had turned down an earlier invitation to the Chair of Mental and Moral Science of Washington College (Virginia), *Free Christian Commonwealth,* May 17, 1866.

[21] *Ibid.,* November 28, 1867.

[22] S. C. Red, *A Brief History of the First Presbyterian Church, Houston, Texas, 1839-1939* (Houston, 1939), p. 60.

[23] *Presbyterian Index,* October 11, 1866.

Assembly had made various deliverances of a strictly political nature, contrary to the Constitution and Standards of the Church.

The invocation was given by the Rev. Samuel Beach Jones, D.D., of New Jersey. This was followed by a masterful address by Mr. Lefevre who brought before the group assembled a portrait of the true nature of the Church, pointing out that immovability was her basic characteristic, the primary and chief element in her divine origin.[24] After the sermon the congregation was resolved into a meeting for the purpose of organizing a new presbytery. Dr. S. Beach Jones, "the noble and manly Jerseyman,"[25] was elected Moderator, and Mr. Lefevre the Secretary. The following ministers and churches were present for the first meeting: J. J. Bullock, D.D., S. B. Jones, D.D., Rev. J. B. Ross and Rev. J. A. Lefevre; J. Harman Brown (Franklin Street), William Hogg (Franklin Square), A. C. Gibbes (West River); and Licentiate J. W. Brown.

Dr. Bullock then presented a lengthy preamble which reviewed again the agitation brought about by the last two Assemblies, the disappointment in not finding peace in the Church after the War, the incipient revolution that had altered the very nature of the Church—all of which had been contributing factors leading to the decision to withdraw from the Old School. Two similarly lengthy resolutions were then presented and adopted. The first reaffirmed the Presbytery's adherence and loyalty to the "incomparable standards" of the Presbyterian Church. Such an allegiance not only required separation from a body which had persistently violated the supreme law of the Church, but it also required the establishment of a new judicatory, "subject to those standards of doctrine, order and discipline of the Presbyterian Church, fidelity to which has, in our judgment, required our withdrawal from our former ecclesiastical connection." The second resolution reaffirmed the purpose of the Presbytery to extend communion to all "of whatever branch or section of the church who will unite with us, or with whom

[24] *Free Christian Commonwealth,* December 13, 1866, contains the full text of Lefevre's sermon. The next issue of the paper commented: "In breadth of thought it compares very favorably with Dr. John Owen's discourse before Parliament. . . ." This issue also referred to the organization of *Patapsco* Presbytery, rather than Chesapeake.

[25] *Ibid.,* November 28, 1867.

we can unite, on the basis of these our standards of testimony." Thus was born the Presbytery of Chesapeake (to be renamed "Patapsco"), with officers and its *apologia* for being.[26]

It is interesting to note that this presbytery had no intentions of remaining by itself. Like the United Synod it sought union with others from the very beginning; unlike the United Synod it made no provisions that would stand in its way of being accepted by any Church that held to a literal interpretation of the Standards.

The Drift Was to the South

The utter economic prostration of the South affected all her institutions, including Churches. With so much of her former wealth invested in the "property" of slaves and worthless Confederate bonds the only hope for recovery lay with sympathetic persons in the North who had a concern for her condition. This was especially true in respect to the Southern Presbyterian Church. One of the outstanding fund-raisers for the Presbyterian Church in the United States was the genial and gracious Dr. J. Leighton Wilson, Secretary of the Assembly's Committee of Sustentation. On February 11, 1867, he spoke at Dr. Bullock's church and "made known the conditions of the Southern Churches and ministry." He stated that during the War 150 congregations witnessed their church edifices destroyed or badly damaged. Of the 1,500 that remained a good third of them would close down without immediate assistance. Mr. Lefevre then proposed that every effort should be made to aid "our" suffering Presbyterian churches in the South, that a committee be appointed to take the necessary steps to promote the success of raising funds, and that a permanent organization be formed "of such persons as they may deem best calculated to raise present and future aid in behalf of the Presbyterian Church and ministry in the South." Bullock seconded the three-pronged motion, and it was unanimously passed.[27]

In a letter dated March 10, 1867, and addressed to Dr. James Woodrow, Dr. Leighton remarked that the Presbyterians of Baltimore were divided into two parties, "though still enter-

[26] *Ibid.*, November 29, 1866, quoting the account of the *Baltimore Sun.*
[27] *North Carolina Presbyterian,* February 27, 1867; *Presbyterian Index,* February 28, 1867.

taining kindly and fraternal feelings toward each other." He described these two groups: "Such as have separated from the Northern Church, and intend, at some early date, to connect themselves with ours, with which they are in full sympathy, both as to feeling and principles. The other still adheres to the Northern Church, but does not approve of many of their measures, especially of the acts of the Pittsburgh and St. Louis Assemblies, which they regard as harsh and unconstitutional, and of no binding force whatsoever." He concluded by reporting that large amounts were raised in Baltimore—over $6,000 for the Sustentation Fund. This was exclusive of what was given by the Church over which Dr. Backus was pastor, and which did not go into the Patapsco movement.[28]

A Mrs. George Brown of Baltimore, who had only recently given $10,000 toward the re-endowment of Union Seminary in Virginia, gave $1,000 to the Sustentation Fund and another $500 to "other objects of benevolence at the South. . . ." Dr. Leighton expressed the hope that her name would be "embalmed in the grateful and affectionate remembrance of our people. . . ."[29]

The impact of Dr. Leighton's warm personality on Baltimore Presbyterians was of great value to the Southern Church as well as to the generous people of Baltimore. A Presbyterian of that Maryland city, using the pseudonym "Allison," wrote, "This visit has been of incalculable benefit." The writer added that the Franklin Street Church "is in a more prosperous condition than at any time since its organization." The Franklin Square Church was also "improving in its prospects." He concluded by commenting that "every day's experience proved the wisdom of the steps we have taken in forming our new Presbytery."[30] Thus was the Presbytery of Patapsco binding itself in pecuniary sympathy to the Southern Church. It desired a firmer bond of union, one that expressed its theological sympathy.

The formation of a new Church, a new denomination, irrespective of size, is always grounds for historical observation. The eminent Southern Presbyterian pastor, Dr. Moses Drury Hodge, wrote that the Presbytery of Patapsco was organized because of

[28] Reproduced in *Southern Presbyterian,* March 14, 1867.
[29] *Presbyterian Index,* March 21, 1867.
[30] *Southern Presbyterian,* April 4, 1867; *Free Christian Commonwealth,* April 11, 1867.

the actions of Church courts which in their judgment seemed outside their jurisdiction.[31] The Southern Presbyterian apologete of history, Dr. Thomas Cary Johnson, pointed out that the ministers and churches in the new presbytery had withdrawn from the Old School Assembly "because of numerous and persistent violations of the constitution by the highest courts."[32] The first Moderator, Dr. S. Beach Jones of Bridgeton, New Jersey, was actually a South Carolinian by birth, and Old School by sentiment.[33] When the Presbytery held its first Stated Meeting on April 17, 1867, it received the Oak Grove Church of Howard County and the Rev. John Squier from Baltimore Presbytery.[34]

The greatest area of activity however was not in the reception of new elements into the presbytery; rather it was the firming of the Presbytery's intentions to align itself with the Southern Church. The Rev. Jacob Lefevre presented a paper which was adopted by Presbytery setting forth the belief that there was no ground of hope that the churches of their former presbytery would return to "the Divine constitution of the Church so faithfully set forth in the Standards under which we were ordained." Since the churches and the sessions had authorized the Presbytery of Patapsco at its inception to make some other ecclesiastical connection, Lefevre indicated that the Presbyterian Church in the United States, to meet at Nashville on November 21, was the largest body of Christians whose faith and govern-

[31] Moses D[rury] Hodge, "The Presbyterian Church in the United States," *Presbyterians, A Popular Narrative of Their Origin, Progress, Doctrines, and Achievements,* ed. George P. Hays (New York, 1892), 492.

[32] Thomas C[ary] Johnson, *History of the Southern Presbyterian Church* (being a portion of Vol. XI, ed. Philip Schaff *et. al., American Church History Series*), (New York, 1894), pp. 438-39—hereafter cited, Johnson, *Southern Presbyterian Church.*

[33] Robert Bell Woodworth, *A History of the Presbytery of Winchester (Synod of Virginia): Its Rise and Growth, Ecclesiastical Relations, Institutions and Agencies, Churches and Ministers, 1719-1945, Based on Official Documents* (Staunton, Virginia, 1947), p. 82, claimed that the dissident ministers and congregations from the detached area of the New School came into the Synod of Virginia under the name of the Presbytery of Patapsco. He is in error here. The churches and ministers of Patapsco were not New School to begin with. The "detached area" he referred to was that portion of the New School Presbytery of the District of Columbia which was taken from the Synod of Virginia (NS) in 1860, transferred to the Synod of Pennsylvania, while the remainder of the former Synod of Virginia was stricken from the New School roll, it having entered the United Synod of the South.

[34] *Southern Presbyterian,* May 16, 1867; *North Carolina Presbyterian,* May 8, 1867; Davis, "Maryland," 405-06.

ment were identical to their own. The Presbytery accordingly elected commissioners to the General Assembly to take resolutions to be passed by the Presbytery as their credentials. The Presbytery also purchased 50 copies of Dr. Boardman's *The General Assembly of 1866,* and authorized the Moderator's sermon to be printed in a precis.[35]

The Stated Fall Meeting of the Presbytery was held October 11, 1867, in the Franklin Street Church. All the churches were represented, all ministers present. The most significant action was the adoption of a paper with an eight-point preamble and three resolutions touching union with the Southern Presbyterian Church. With commissioners already elected, with resolutions favoring union with the Southern Church in their delegates' hands, the members of presbytery retired to their homes to anticipate reception by the Southern Church.

A New Tribe is Added to the Southern Zion

As the pre-Assembly developments began to mount, the Southern Presbyterian religious weeklies carried the news of the Presbytery's hopes to be received by the Assembly. Typical of the feelings throughout the Church was the comment of the *Southern Presbyterian* (October 24, 1867), "Patapsco Presbytery—This body has appointed as commissioners to our General Assembly the Rev. J. A. Lefevre and ruling elder Thos. Dickson. This Presbytery will receive a most cordial welcome into our church."

The General Assembly met in Nashville. After it had been constituted the Stated Clerk presented the memorial from the Presbytery of Patapsco which was read to the General Assembly.[36] A motion to refer the matter of the reception of the Presbytery to a special committee was rejected, and the Presbytery was received unanimously.[37] The enthusiasm in receiving the Presbytery and the kindred brethren it represented, who had given so liberally to the Southern Church in her hour of greatest distress, was great. The reception of the Presbytery has been described as "no cold formality. For while the Southern

[35] Dr. Jones' sermon, "The Kingdom not of This World," appeared in full text in the *Free Christian Commonwealth,* May 16, 1867.

[36] *Vide Minutes,* GAPCUS, 1867, pp. 131-32, for the full text of the Memorial.

[37] *North Carolina Presbyterian,* December 4, 1867.

brethren have observed and still observe a degree of dignified reserve concerning the matter of receiving additions of their strength . . . yet, when a Church . . . from the spontaneous conviction of truth and duty, once makes the advance, none ever more cordially and gladly welcomed friends among them. During the brief and simple remarks attending the reception, tears stood in many eyes in the Assembly."[38]

Thus were the commissioners received and seated on the first day. On the next day Mr. Lefevre nominated the Franklin Street Church for the 1868 meeting of the General Assembly. He thought it would be of great advantage to the cause of the Presbytery to have the Assembly meet in the city where they "had been charged with Southern sympathy, and not Presbyterian sympathy." Such prejudice would be dispelled.[39] This was passed by the Assembly. Lefevre was assigned to the Committee on Bills and Overtures and Mr. Dickson was appointed to the Committee on the Book of Church Order. The Presbytery was received as a coordinate presbytery, and attached to the Synod of Virginia. It remained a separate court until 1869 when it was incorporated with congregations in Virginia to form the Presbytery of Chesapeake.

It will be of interest to note that before the Presbytery of Patapsco lost its complete identity in June, 1868, it began the organization of a congregation in Washington, D.C. The Rev. A. W. Pitzer was appointed pastor and the church was organized to adhere "strictly to the established tenets of the denomination to which he belongs. . . ."[40] Thus was the first Southern Presbyterian Church started in the nation's capitol.

Contributions of the Union

The Southern Presbyterian historian, Thomas Cary Johnson, described the results of the union of the Presbytery of Patapsco with the Southern Presbyterian Church in these brief words: "This Presbytery brought an accession of 6 ministers, 3 churches, 576 communicants, much wealth and intelligence."[41]

[38] *Free Christian Commonwealth,* November 28, 1867.
[39] *Southern Presbyterian,* November 28, 1867.
[40] *Free Christian Commonwealth,* June 11, 1868.
[41] Johnson, *Southern Presbyterian Church,* 439, n. 1. The *Minutes,* GAPCUS, 1867, p. 237, listed four churches: Franklin Street, Franklin Square, Oak Grove and Bladensburg and West River. Ministers received were J. J. Bullock, Samuel B. Jones, J. A. Lefevre, John B. Ross, John Squier, John W. Brown, and Licentiate John McKelway.

There was more to this union than mere statistics, however. It was the first union consummated after the War, which was evidence that the two previous unions were not consummated for mere political expediency. It proved that union with the Southern Church could be accomplished after the crisis of sectional war had passed. It was the first of three unions which were to enlarge the geographical boundaries of the Church. The unions with the Independent Presbyterian Church and the United Synod were unions of consolidation; that is, they were not unions that received churches or ministers outside the boundaries of the Southern Church itself, but rather were concerned with organic bodies occupying some of the identical territory of the Church. The result of this union is still felt today by the comparatively numerous Southern Presbyterian churches in Maryland in general, and in and around Baltimore in particular. The Franklin Street Church still exists as one of the strong congregations in the Southern Church.

The union hinged on a peculiar aspect of Presbyterian thought—the exact position of the Church in temporal matters. The Presbytery was organized by dissatisfied ministers and congregations who felt the Church had no right, in light of the confessional Standards, to deny membership in the Church to those who had not sinned, as "sin" was defined in the Confession of Faith. Nor did the Church have the power to erect new conditions for Church membership.

The union was truly an expression of mutual Christian concern. The existence of such a body as the Presbytery of Patapsco was a monument pointing the finger of shame to the Northern Presbyterian Church. At a time when the entire Church could have practiced charitable generosity toward its former brothers in the South, it erected barriers thwarting friendship. The gifts, prayers, concerns of the Baltimore Presbyterians for the suffering people, ministers and institutions of the South stood out like a verdant oasis of Christian love in the midst of the barrenness of sectional strife that characterized the Presbyterian Church of that day. Some of the institutions of the Southern Presbyterian Church today well owe their second-birth to the beneficence of the Baltimore Patapsco Presbyterians.

Considerable leadership was also contributed in the persons of Dr. Bullock and the young Mr. Lefevre. Men of their stature do not arise every day. The honors accorded them in the years

that followed attested to their abilities and their value to the new Church of their choice.

Nor should one forget that "much intelligence" which only 576 Maryland Presbyterians can possess. . . .

SIDELIGHTS

WHO HID JOHN H. SURRATT, THE LINCOLN CONSPIRACY CASE FIGURE?

By Alexandra Lee Levin

On April 6, 1865, a young stranger entered the St. Lawrence Hall, Montreal's plushest hostelry. Canada was then a center of intrigue for the Confederate States of America; the St. Lawrence Hall was their Montreal meeting place. The newcomer, a tall, slight, long-haired youth of twenty-one, registered at 10:30 A.M. as "John Harrison, Washington, D.C."[1] "Harrison" had a prominent forehead, large nose, rather sunken eyes, and a sparse goatee and mustache. His slim shoulders were covered by a "large, ordinary travelling shawl" that reached "nearly to the skirt of his coat."[2] Having registered, the young man was shown to his rooms, where Brigadier General Edwin Gray Lee, C.S.A., paid him a visit. General Lee, a Virginian and a cousin of Robert E. Lee, was in Canada as Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin's military attaché and head of the Confederate endeavors in Canada.[3] Young "Harrison" had brought Lee an important dispatch from Richmond. "Letter by Charley from Mr. Benjamin; My last rec'd all safe," General Edwin Lee wrote in his diary that day.[4]

[1] *Trial of John H. Surratt in the Criminal Court for the District of Columbia* (Washington, 1867) I, 514; Public Archives of Canada, Ms. Group 28, III-10, Vol. 10, p. 260: "John Harrison" had rooms No. 13 and 50.

[2] *Surratt Trial,* II, p. 782, testimony of General Edwin G. Lee.

[3] Library of Congress, *Letterbooks of Confederate State Papers, Canada, Feb. 15, 1864-Jan. 8, 1865:* Judah P. Benjamin, Dept. of State, Richmond, to Hon. Jacob Thompson, Toronto, C.W., Dec. 6, 1864 & Dec. 30, 1864. General Edwin G. Lee was to replace in Canada Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, the last of the three Commissioners sent there by the Confederate Government to engage in activities which would disrupt the Federal war effort and channel Canadian anti-Northern sentiment into outlets useful to the South. Commissioners James B. Holcombe, of Virginia, and Clement C. Clay, Jr., of Alabama, had already returned home to the Confederacy. On December 30, 1864, Secretary Benjamin wrote to Commissioner Thompson at Toronto: "I have now to inform you that from reports which reach us from trustworthy sources, we are satisfied that so close an espionage is kept upon you that your services have been deprived of the value which we attached to your further residence in Canada. The President thinks therefore that as soon as the gentleman (Gen. Edwin G. Lee) arrives who bears you the letter . . . it will be better that you transfer to him as quietly and secretly as possible all the information that you have obtained, and the balance of funds in your hands, and return to the Confederacy."

[4] General Edwin G. Lee's Canadian Diary for 1865 is on microfilm at University

John Harrison Surratt, Jr., alias John Harrison, alias Charley Armstrong,[5] a Secret Service courier for the Confederacy, had left the Federal Capital on the 25th of March, reaching Richmond four days later. On the 31st, he was entrusted by Secretary Benjamin with a dispatch which that urbane gentleman wished to have conveyed to General Edwin Lee at Montreal. The next day Surratt sped northward, and by April 6th had checked in safely at Montreal's St. Lawrence Hall.[6]

On the same day that Surratt left Richmond, Judah P. Benjamin had a warrant for $1,500 in gold issued to himself on the Secret Service Account.[7] Similar Treasury warrants had been issued to other officials at Richmond—insurance against a rainy day. Valuable State Papers were sorted and packed, ready for emergency measures. On Sunday, the 2nd, President Davis and his Cabinet fled southwest to Danville, near the North Carolina border.

At Montreal's St. Lawrence Hall, General Edwin G. Lee read Mr. Benjamin's dispatch, written shortly before the Confederate Secretary of State left Richmond. The orders gave specific directions for the disposition of a large part of the Confederate Secret Service funds in Canada.[8] For the moment, the rest of the money was to stay in General Edwin Lee's hands.

John H. Surratt, alias Charley Armstrong, was out enjoying the sights of Montreal when General Lee sent for him. When their interview ended, Surratt was in General Lee's employ, charged with surveying the situation and physical condition of the Federal Prison at Elmira, New York. Supposedly large numbers of Confederate soldiers were confined at Elmira. If the remainder of the Southern Armies had a sizable accretion, possibly the Confederacy could fight on. Surratt was to make sketches of the stations of the guards and the approaches to the prison. He was also to ascertain—as nearly as possible—the numbers of persons that would be involved in a prison break, and the amount of arms stored there.[9] The thin six-footer got off on the railroad cars for Elmira on the afternoon of April 12th.

Three days later, General Edwin Lee wrote in his diary: "News of

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of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill. Original, formerly owned by the late Dr. Edmund J. Lee of Shepherdstown, West Virginia, has been mislaid.

[5] *Surratt Trial*, II, p. 903.

[6] National Archives, Defendant's Affidavit of Proof, *U.S. vs. John H. Surratt*, Criminal Case No. 4731 in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, 1867, Record Group No. 21.

[7] Duke University Library, C.S.A. Archives, Executive Department, Treasury Department, Warrants, 1863-1865.

[8] N.A., Defendant's Affidavit of Proof, *U.S. vs. John H. Surratt.*

[9] *Ibid.*

Lincoln's death came this morning, exciting universal shock of . . ." He crossed out the words "shock of", and substituted "horror and amazement".

In the meantime, John Surratt had reached Elmira, N.Y., where he drew some rude sketches of the prison and its approaches.[10] He decided to buy some new clothes. The clerk who waited on him made note of his purchases on both the 13th and 14th of April. Next morning, early, Surratt sampled the white shirt line of merchandise in another Elmira store. While conversing with the proprietor, Surratt learned of Lincoln's assassination.[11] This sudden and unexpected turn of events threw Surratt into a panic, for he had plotted with actor John Wilkes Booth and others to kidnap Lincoln. The unsuccessful plan had been temporarily laid aside. What had really happened during his absence from Washington? Greatly perturbed, Surratt hurried from the store and caught the train for Canandaigua, N.Y. There Surratt spent the night at the Webster House, where he registered as "John Harrison." The next day was Sunday, with no trains running.[12] Monday morning Surratt fled toward Canada and the safety of Montreal's St. Lawrence Hall.[13]

The page for Tuesday, April 18th, is torn from the diary of General Edwin G. Lee, although Wednesday's entry is intact: "This day or the 20th, gave messenger $40 expenses and $100 services, (Charley)." John Surratt, alias Charley Armstrong, had brought General Lee rude sketches which purported to be of the Elmira Prison and its approaches, along with a rough estimate of the defending forces.

By this time Surratt was listed as wanted at Washington, with a price of $25,000 on his head. Already Federal detectives had been sent North to try to track him down. General Edwin Lee, as Judah Benjamin's military attaché and as the ranking Confederate officer in Canada,[14] was responsible for the safety of Benjamin's agent, Surratt. From his too obvious whereabouts at the St. Lawrence Hall, Surratt was spirited away to a private house, the home of Mr. John Porterfield, formerly a banker in Nashville, Tennessee.[15]

[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Surratt Trial*, I, 723-6, 733.
[12] *Ibid.*, 761.
[13] *Ibid.*, 514; Public Archives of Canada, Ms. Group 28, III-10, Vol. 10, p. 269: "John Harrison" was assigned to room No. 121, at one half-hour after noon on Tuesday, April 18, 1865.
[14] *Montreal Gazette* for April 26, 1865 stated that General Edwin G. Lee was "the Confederate officer of the highest grade in Canada."
[15] For more about John Porterfield, see *Official Records, Navy*, Series I, Vol. 43, Pt. 2, p. 933. Mr. Porterfield's photograph, No. 3606, is in the Notman Collection, McCord Museum, McGill University, Montreal.

But the baying of the Federal operatives was too close for comfort. Surratt's friends decided to get him out of the city entirely. One evening after dark two carriages appeared in front of the house where Surratt was staying. Surratt and another man dressed similarly in Oxford jackets, emerged from the front door simultaneously. In the deep dusk it was difficult to distinguish between the two forms. One man entered one carriage, the other the second, and off they drove in opposite directions. The carriage with Surratt continued on until it reached the foot of the island of Montreal, about ten miles distant from the city proper, where a man had been hired to ferry Surratt across the St. Lawrence River. Surratt was paddled noiselessly in a canoe to the opposite bank. From there he was guided cross country to the tiny village of St. Liboire, nine miles east of St. Hyacinthe. Joseph F. du Tilly, a woodsman, brought Surratt under cover of darkness in a cart to the home of Father Charles Boucher, his brother-in-law. Father Boucher was rector of the sparsely settled parish of St. Liboire. The stranger was introduced to him as "Charles Armstrong", a Southerner who had come out into the country for his health and because of having become compromised in the American war between the States. Father Boucher agreed to give refuge to Mr. Armstrong who wished, for a time, to be hidden from the outside world. Surratt's mother, who ran a boarding house in Washington, D.C., had accepted Catholicism early in life, although born a Protestant. Her son, John, had attended St. Charles College, under the direction of the Sulpician Order, near Baltimore, as a boy. He once entertained thoughts of becoming a priest. Father Charles Boucher welcomed the stranger, as a member of the Catholic Church, to occupy a spare bedroom in his house at the secluded hamlet of St. Liboire.[16]

On May 4, 1865, General Edwin G. Lee, a staunch Episcopalian, called on Father Larcille Lapierre, Canon to Ignace Bourget, Roman Catholic Bishop of Montreal.[17] The Bishop's Palace was situated near the Old Burying Ground, between Cemetery and St. Margaret Streets, just off St. Antoine.[18] General Lee's aide-de-camp, young Lt. Tom Dixon Davis, from Lynchburg, Virginia, and a cousin of Jefferson Davis, spoke French fluently.[19] Lt. Davis was invaluable to General Lee in his dealings with French Canadians.

[16] *Surratt Trial*, I, pp. 471-3, 895, 902-3.
[17] L'Abbé J.-B.-A. Allaire, Clergé Canadien-Français, Vol. I, p. 305.
[18] Mackay's *Montreal Directory for 1866-7*, p. 327.
[19] Rosa Faulkner Yancey, *Lynchburg and its Neighbors* (Richmond, 1935), pp. 290-1; Letter to author, June 14, 1964, from Fred M. Davis, of Lynchburg, Va., nephew of Lt. Thomas Dixon Davis; V. Y. Cook, private compilation, "List of Staff Officers of the Confederate Army" (1903) Duke Uni. Library.

General Lee had an earnest conference with Father Lapierre, after which Lee noted in his diary: "Sent C(harley) $100." At St. Liboire, Father Boucher learned of the price on Surratt's head about the same time that his guest received the sum of $100 from General Edwin Lee's courier.[20] Faced with a decision of conscience, Father Boucher chose to hide the identity of "Charley Armstrong".

At Washington, the trial of the Lincoln conspirators was being conducted before a Military Court. Throughout the trial the prosecution hoped that boardinghouse keeper Mrs. Mary E. Surratt, one of the accused, would serve as a decoy to lure her son John from hiding when he learned of her danger. But at Father Boucher's house in the quiet secluded hamlet, John was allowed by his friends no news of the outside world, except that the trial was progressing favorably for his mother. When he discovered on the evening of July 6th that his mother had been convicted and was to be executed in the morning, John became frantic with grief. Only force on the part of his guardians prevented him from returning to Washington and surrendering himself.[21]

General Edwin Gray Lee was at the St. Lawrence Hall on August 7, 1865, when he noted in his diary: "Gen. Grant expected tomorrow." However he did not plan to greet the gentleman whom the Montreal *Gazette* termed "one of the most remarkable men in North America." Instead, General Lee was to take the steamer for Quebec that evening, and from there to Murray Bay, a fashionable resort much patronized by wealthy British Canadians. While staying at the upper class Riverton Hotel, Edwin Lee wrote in his diary for August 11th: "Dined with Armstrong and Bouthillier. Whist at night." Bouthillier is identified only as "a young Canadian".

In the morning Edwin Lee changed his lodgings from the well patronized Riverton Hotel to the quietude of Madame Barger's French Canadian boarding house. At Madame Barger's there was less chance of Charley Armstrong being identified as the hunted Surratt.

A curious circumstance had forced Surratt to leave his haven with Father Charles Boucher in the village of St. Liboire. The priest had had a hole cut in the partition between his sitting room and the bedroom occupied by his guest, so that a stove could be put in to warm the unheated room. Beneath the stove was a vacant space about six to eight inches high. One day when Father Boucher was absent from the house, his female servant became curious and stooped to look through the hole. Surratt had suffered that summer

[20] *Surratt Trial*, II, pp. 903-4.
[21] *Ibid.*, I, p. 542.

from frequent fever and chills—"fièvres tremblantes" as Father Boucher called them. At such times Surratt stayed in bed for days on end, was extremely pale and weak, and could scarcely move. Often the priest was apprehensive that the young man might not live. On occasion, when he had a good day, Surratt attended services at the church with Father Boucher, but only when no one else was there. Sometimes Surratt's English-speaking friends from Montreal came out to the village to hunt birds with him. Edwin Lee, who liked to hunt, mentioned in his diary buying a gun in Montreal. When Surratt's friends came to hunt with him at St. Liboire they boarded at private homes roundabout. It was almost inevitable that some sort of rumor of a mysterious guest at the priest's house should get about. Impelled by her natural curiosity, the servant girl had poked her head through the hole under the stove one day. Surratt happened to be lying on the sofa at the time. When he noticed the wide-eyed stare he jumped up suddenly and lunged forward in an attempt to scare the intruder. Terror-stricken, the woman rushed screaming from the bedeviled house. The silly woman would undoubtedly spread rumors involving the priest. In any case it was not unlikely that Surratt would be trailed to the village by Federal agents who already had searched for him as far as Trois Rivières. So in late July Father Boucher's guest departed from St. Liboire.[22] "Took walk with Armstrong and Bouthillier," General Edwin Lee wrote in his diary at Murray Bay on August 12th. Surratt had managed to get from St. Liboire, near Montreal, to a region north of Quebec—undetected.

General Edwin Lee arrived back in Montreal at 8 A.M. on the 15th. Mr. John Lovell, the prominent Canadian publisher, refused to allow General Lee to take rooms at a hotel, and swept him away to his elegant home at Linden Place, on St. Catherine Street near Union Avenue. While he was enjoying the warm hospitality of the Lovells, Lee recorded in his diary for August 18th:"Mr. Armstrong arrived from Quebec." John Surratt had been brought by his friends to a house, No. 116 Cemetery Street, a quiet place just behind the Catholic Bishop's Palace. There, at the home of the priest Lapierre's father, a seller of boots and shoes, Surratt occupied a back room on the second story.[23]

Monday, the 21st, was a gloomy, damp day and Edwin Lee hugged the fire in the Lovell's comfortable library. John Surratt was brought to the Lovells' where a guest, Miss Young, a lovely New Yorker, caught his eye. Edwin Lee noted that Miss Young fancied

[22] *Ibid.*, I, p. 473; II, pp. 896, 904-8.
[23] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 908-9; Mackay's *Montreal Directory*, 1864-5 "André J. Lapierre & fils, 116 Cemetery."

herself a belle. "Mr. Armstrong very devoted," Lee recorded with an air of detachment suitable to an older and happily married man. "Made an opportunity for him in the Library . . ." Mr. Armstrong left the Lovells' house at 8 P.M. General Lee added this comment: "Had a very confidential conversation with 'the Young' after returning from theater at 11 P.M." Evidently Edwin Lee felt the necessity of warning the fair New Yorker against having a serious flirtation with Mr. Armstrong. On the evening of the 25th, General Lee escorted little Miss Emily Kurczyn, a niece of Mrs. Lovell, to a party given by Mrs. Tiffin, Miss Emily's sister. "Armstrong arrived at 7 P.M. The Young left at 12 M.", Lee wrote after the party. Miss Young, the New York belle, was returning home.

On Monday, September 4th, General Lee saw the priest, Lapierre. Careful plans were being laid. Edwin stopped in at Miss Wickham's boarding house at 580 St. Catherine Street, where William Jefferson Buchanan of Maryland, one of his couriers, was staying.[24] Ten days later Lee again saw Father Lapierre and John Surratt.

Surratt had become increasingly restless and unhappy from his close confinement at the home of the seller of boots and shoes on Cemetery Street—particularly after the attractive Miss Young left Montreal. It is true that he had visitors from time to time. Father Charles Boucher came in from St. Liboire regularly, usually on Mondays and Thursdays. On one occasion "a lady and her two daughters from Quebec" came to see him.[25] Still he wanted to leave for Europe and a greater measure of safety and freedom. General Edwin Lee made enquiries about a boat.[26]

On the evening of Friday, September 15th, an open carriage

[24] William Jefferson Buchanan's father, James M. Buchanan (1803-1876), was Judge of the Circuit Court of Baltimore Co., Md., in 1855, and in 1858 was appointed by President James Buchanan as United States Ambassador to Denmark. Wm. J. Buchanan, a writer, had employed his pen in an effort to get Maryland to secede from the Union: Charles Branch Clark, "Politics in Maryland During the Civil War," *Md. Hist. Mag.* XXXVI (Sept., 1941), 242, 258, 260, 262. He enlisted as a private in the 1st Maryland Artillery. See Geo. W. Booth, *Illustrated Souvenir of the Md. Line Confederate Soldiers' Home* (Baltimore, 1894) p. 84. In May 1864 Wm. J. Buchanan served as courier from the Hon. A. Dudley Mann, Confederate Commissioner at Brussels, to Jefferson Davis, at Richmond. His dispatch was a message from Pope Pius IX to Davis, stating that the Pope was unceasingly praying for peace. Hon. Mann had been sent to Rome from Brussels by Judah P. Benjamin in an attempt to persuade the Pope to exert his influence in stemming the flood of Irish Catholics rushing to join the Federal Army which offered a bonus. See *Official Records*, Series IV, Vol. 3, p. 401; O.R. *Navy*, Vol. 3, pp. 828-9, 893-5, 954-5. The Rare Book Room at the Library of Congress has a copy of Wm. J. Buchanan's *Maryland's Crisis, a Political Outline*, printed in Richmond in 1863 under the pseudonym of "Through a Glass Darkly", and his *Maryland's Hope: Her Trials and Interests in Connexion with the War*, printed at Richmond in 1864 and to which he affixed his name.

[25] *Surratt Trial*, II, p. 909.

[26] *Lee Diary*, Sept. 1, 1865.

rolled up in front of the Lapierre home on Cemetery Street. Three men entered the carriage; two were dressed as civilians, one as a priest. The latter was Father Charles Boucher. His two companions were John Surratt and Father Lapierre, although it was not customary for a Canadian priest to be out of habit.[27] "Charley leaves Quebec today," Edwin Lee wrote in his diary for September 16th. Lee's responsibility in the matter had ended.

The steamer "Montreal", between Montreal and Quebec, had been crowded when it left the dock on the evening of the 15th. One of the passengers was General Roswell S. Ripley who had occupied Fort Sumter after its fall in April 1861. Ripley was on his way to England where he hoped to engage in a manufacturing venture. Another was Mr. Beverley Tucker of Virginia. There was also Dr. Lewis J. A. McMillan, surgeon of the steamship "Peruvian", plying between Quebec and Liverpool. Dr. McMillan expected to join his ship at Quebec. There was a Catholic priest, Father Charles Boucher, from St. Liboire. There was a thirty-year-old man in civilian clothes who stuck close beside another fellow, apparently in his early twenties. The latter wore spectacles, and had dark brown hair, cut short, and a thin mustache.

The "Montreal" reached Quebec early in the morning; the passengers ate breakfast on board about eight o'clock. Between nine and ten o'clock, the steamship company sent a tug to take the passengers and their baggage out to the "Peruvian". On the tug, General Roswell Ripley was seen to speak to the young fellow with dark brown hair and spectacles. Once aboard the "Peruvian", this young man was taken directly to a cabin by his older companion, Father Lapierre, who then locked him inside. Then the unhabited priest went in search of the ship's surgeon, Dr. McMillan, who accompanied Lapierre back to the cabin. Unlocking the door, Lapierre invited McMillan in. The young bespectacled man in the cabin was introduced to the surgeon as "Mr. McCarty." Lapierre asked the Doctor to allow his friend to stay in the surgeon's own room until the "Peruvian" had pulled well out of port. Dr. McMillan got the key to his own cabin, ushered "McCarty" in, and stayed with him until the ship left in about a half-hour. Meanwhile, Mr. Beverley Tucker, Rev. Mon. Lapierre and others who were not going abroad, returned on the tug to Quebec. John Harrison Surratt, his fair hair clipped short and dyed brown, was off to the British Isles.[28]

From London, where he stayed for a while, Surratt, traveled to Paris, and thence to Rome, where he enlisted in the Papal Zouaves.

[27] *Surratt Trial*, II, pp. 911-2.
[28] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 461-4.

Here he escaped detection for some time until recognized by a fellow Zouave, one Henri Beaumont Ste. Marie, who knew Surratt in Washington. The man promptly approached Rufus King, the American Ambassador to the Papal States, saying that the Zouave who went under the name of "John Watson" was none other than John H. Surratt, wanted in the United States for alleged complicity in the plot against Lincoln. Acting upon instructions from Washington, Ambassador King had Surratt picked up and placed aboard the warship "Swatara".[29] When the ship docked at the Washington Navy Yard in February 1867, Surratt was arrested and taken to jail.[30]

Criminal Case No. 4731, *The United States vs. John H. Surratt,* opened on June 10, 1867, in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. (Now the District Court for the District of Columbia.) During the afternoon session of Saturday, July 13th, former Brigadier General Edwin Gray Lee, who was suffering from the ravages of tuberculosis, was summoned from Shepherdstown, W. Va., to testify for the defence. Surratt's lawyer, Joseph H. Bradley, examined the witness, interrupted frequently by Edwards Pierrepont, assistant counsel to District Attorney Edward Carrington. Judge George Fisher presided.

Mr. Bradley requested the witness, Edwin G. Lee, to state where he was in the month of April, 1865. "In the province of Canada," Lee answered. The witness was asked if he met the prisoner at the bar while he was in Canada. "I did," came the reply. "I saw him first on the 6th day of April, 1865." Lee stated that he had seen the prisoner several times in his room at the St. Lawrence Hall, where he boarded. "State whether he brought any despatch to you; and if so, from whom?" questioned Mr. Bradley. Mr. Pierrepont objected. The Court said he ruled the question out on the ground of its being *res inter alios.* Subsequent questions put by the defence were likewise blocked, except those concerning the date when Lee again saw Surratt in Montreal after the passage of several days, his dress and his appearance at the time.[31] However the defendant filed on July 15th an Affidavit of Proof purporting to show that he had been employed by former Brigadier General Edwin G. Lee on a mission to Elmira, N.Y., at the time of Lincoln's assassination, and so could not have been involved in it.[32] The jury still had not been able to agree on a verdict by August, and asked for a dismissal of the

[29] Leo F. Stock, (Ed.) *United States Ministers to the Papal States, Instructions & Despatches 1848-1868* (Washington, 1933), p. 359, and footnote p. 363.
[30] Alfred Isacsson, "John Surratt and the Lincoln Assassination Plot," *Md. Hist. Mag.* LII (Dec., 1957), 339.
[31] *Surratt Trial,* II, pp. 780-2.
[32] N.A. Defendant's Affidavit of Proof, *U. S. vs John H. Surratt.*

case. Surratt was determined to win complete exoneration and refused to accept this situation. He was returned to prison to await another trial.[33] In November 1868 the Court announced its decision to dismiss the case entirely.[34] Surratt was free.

Four years later, John Surratt married Mary Victorine Hunter, related to the family of Francis Scott Key, and obtained a position as general freight agent and auditor of the Old Bay Line on the Chesapeake. He retired in 1914, and died at his home on West Lanvale Street in Baltimore, on April 22, 1915, survived by his widow, three daughters and a son, William Harrison Surratt.[35]

[33] *Surratt Trial,* II, p. 1379.
[34] Isacsson, *loc. cit.,* 341.
[35] Baltimore *Evening Sun,* April 22, 1915.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland, 1862-1864. By CHARLES LEWIS WAGANDT. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1964. xii, 299. $6.50.

This is the most careful and exhaustive study that has yet appeared on the politics of emancipation. Although limited to Maryland, its importance is far wider, for, as is often the case, Maryland seems to reflect in microcosm what is happening in the entire nation. Here is the story, so entirely comprehensible, of the growth of emancipation sentiment in northern, western and urban Maryland, and its ruthless triumph over pro-slave sentiment in southern, eastern and rural Maryland. Here, along the way, is the schism between moderate and radical Republicans, the internal collapse of slavery, and the opportunism and violence that blurs a glorious cause. Here, in short, is the story of emancipation in America.

The movement began slowly, with the Republican Party winning less than three percent of the Maryland votes in 1860, and only a fraction of those voters inclined toward emancipation. From the first, the tiny Republican Party was sharply divided between the moderate Montgomery Blair wing dedicated to patronage and union, and the strident Henry Winter Davis wing dedicated to patronage and emancipation. Each year opinion moved left, however, and more pro-slavery voters were disfranchised, so that by 1862 the Republicans (now Unionists) were firmly in control of the State; by 1863 the Davis wing was firmly in control of the party, and by 1864 a new State constitution abolished slavery without compensation.

While the political struggle went on, slavery was collapsing on its own. Lincoln led the way. Confederate slaves used against the North were freed in 1861; all Confederate slaves escaping to the North were freed in 1862; and the Emancipation Proclamation freed all Confederate slaves in 1863. For the border state slaves, Lincoln urged compensated emancipation in 1861, and granted compensation to District of Columbia slave-owners in 1862. More important, the administration began officially recruiting free Negroes in the border states, and unofficially recruiting whatever slaves could be enticed to run away. This, combined with the obvious political tide, made slaves worthless as property well before the new constitution was adopted.

The distasteful and even tragic part of the story is that there

was never very much concern for the Negro. Both nationally and locally, he was a pawn in the struggle of self-seeking men for political power. The war brought political greed and passions to new heights. Statewide elections occurred at least every year, regularly provoking bloodshed. Baltimore, during one seven-month period in 1863 suffered ten major elections. And yet, elections were won by the sword rather than by the majority, for test oaths, blatant fraud, and federal bayonets made a mockery of democracy. Politics was not so much a matter of debate and public opinion as of fantastic intrigue, hypocritical use of issues, and control of military power. Here is the most detailed account I know of fraudulent wartime politics.

Mr. Wagandt, a Baltimore businessman, devoted thirteen years to this book, and has produced a model of fine scholarship. One could quibble that the style is not always graceful, that the slave issue may be over-emphasized in the first half of the book, and that the slave theme tends to get lost in the maze of politics during the second half. One could ask for more attention to the reasons for the leftward swing of public opinion, for more about the impact of emancipation on institutions and thought, and for more awareness of the significance of the material uncovered. Still, in the perspective of the contribution made, such reservations are minor. The book is a splendid addition to the history of Maryland, of the Negro, and of the era.

GEORGE H. CALLCOTT

University of Maryland

Diary of Charles Francis Adams. Vol. I, January 1820—June 1825; Vol. II, July 1825—September 1829. Edited by AIDA DIPACE DONALD and DAVID DONALD. (*The Adams Papers,* L. H. BUTTERFIELD, editor in chief, Series I: Diaries.) Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964. lxiv, 469; xi, 514. $20.00 the set.

Among the current crop of documentary publications series, the Adams Family Papers project ranks high in arousing happy expectations. Unfortunately, these first two volumes of the diary of Charles Francis Adams must be put down as a disappointment. Although the years covered (1820-1829) include John Quincy Adams' presidency, and the embarrassment of deposition at the hands of Andrew Jackson, these thousand pages of text yield relatively little in terms of reading investment. Charles Francis, as the younger son, viewed

most of his father's administration from Harvard College, and even while at Washington, John Quincy Adams did not confide politically with his teenage, but precocious son.

To add to the problem, not all of the full diaries survived, so that we are forced at some junctures (including the period of the "corrupt bargain" with Clay) to read seemingly endless epitomes, or a sort of rough journal Adams kept for his jottings. An editorial policy of full diary publication predetermined the nature of these early volumes. While it is true that the Charles Francis Adams diary had never been published, nor even excerpted, the full diary has been available to scholars on microfilm for several years. Would that the Donalds and Lyman Butterfield, the general editor, had treated the diaries and correspondence alike: full microfilming, but selective publication.

Adams was intellectually curious and politically alert. But his fullest entries comment upon his reading (it is a pity they were written in a separate commonplace book, not preserved), while his political comments on such events as visits to Congress or to the Supreme Court during arguments on *Gibbons v. Ogden,* are too sketchy to be of any value. Take this entry for February 9, 1825: "Morning at home, snow. Election of President, at half past three my father elected, cured of head ache [Charles Francis, or the new President?], congratulations, evening, Circus, Tom and Jerry [portent of Blifil and Black George?], serenade [first cries of corrupt bargain?]." (I:450) All is not Adams reserve, however. Charles does write frankly about his austere father (I:315), and the problem of Adams ancestry in general (II:337). The future opponent of Cotton Whiggery declares in 1824: "I hate the purse proud ostentation of the city of Boston" (I:312). Not even Harvard is spared: "This institution is not a University yet. Children are admitted here and make fools of themselves." (I:113)

Romantic love and sex figure prominently, if not frequently, in Adams' musings. His Washington dancing partners seem all to have been "voluptuous" and consequently, thought-provoking. The Donalds interpret a few cryptic entries as evidence that Charles had a servant girl mistress (II:124), disagreeing on point with biographer Martin Duberman. Convinced that "God intended the union of the sexes as soon as they became of age to know the passion," Adams held society responsible for his intolerable state of celibacy, and its "perversion of the natural order of things." (I:435) He finally solved the problem, and attached himself to purse proud Boston, in 1829, when he married Abigail Brooks, thus ending for himself and the reader the tedium of a long engagement.

Lest all this sound purely negative, let me hasten to add that Professor and Mrs. Donald (to reverse the order on the title page), have performed their editorial chores impeccably. The annotation and explanation will surely satisfy any reader's legitimate queries, and the editors provide an excellent introduction. I particularly appreciated the restraint employed in the identifying process. Rather than supply pemmicanized biographies, which distract more than clarify, the Donalds stick to the task of identifying the person named in the text and his status at the time mentioned. In keeping with the series format, and the Harvard Belknap imprint, the books are extremely handsome.

The Charles Francis Adams diary gains in importance with each year. The arid years disposed of, the Donalds will from now on have better material on which to employ their editorial talents.

FRANK OTTO GATELL

Stanford University

Benjamin Franklin and Pennsylvania Politics. By WILLIAM S. HANNA. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964. xi, 239. $6.50.

Benjamin Franklin was intelligent, articulate, likable—and a partisan. He designed bifocals that suited him; and since his time historians have often looked at his world through those same sturdy lenses. But, as William S. Hanna points out, the Franklinian perspective has had its disadvantages. Franklin's vision of the British Empire was strong and clear. He could also read his beloved Philadelphia like a book. But in the middle ground, objects and movements blurred; except in moments of emergency, he apprehended them dimly. To Franklin, as to certain other Philadelphians, Pennsylvania was but a city-state.

Moreover, the Philosopher (or, as a critic quaintly called him, the Electrician) paid less attention to provincial politics than some of his admirers have realized. He never became the fearsome "tribune of the people" that Thomas Penn the Proprietary foresaw in 1748. In the decade of his political prominence, 1755-1765, Franklin effectively led an established party for only a couple of years. Besides, he and his party showed as great an aversion to democracy as the party that he opposed.

Like most of us, Franklin was actually too thin-skinned for combat at close quarters. He allowed grudges to overrule his judg-

ment. His leadership precipitated changes in provincial politics, but they were not the changes that he sought. Although he got himself sent to England to attack the Proprietary family, he lost his major engagements there. He sustained such defeats partly because his bitterness went uncontrolled, partly, as it appears, because he never really understood constitutional or legal reasoning. During his long absence, and perhaps partly because of it, Pennsylvania's domestic politics entered a decade of bipartisan mellowing that ended only with the Revolution. Franklin had failed to sense the reservations of his constituents: after 1765 they were overwhelmingly concerned to preserve themselves from any kind of crisis.

If that were all that Hanna said about Franklin, he would be less than fair; and fair he is. To mention the most obvious example, Franklin's role in Indian affairs and in military affairs receives all due attention. My point is that Hanna's artistry has focussed his readers' attention on one phase of Franklin's career, a phase that has been treated too seldom as a historical unity. The readers' reward will be to see a Franklin they have never seen before, a Franklin fallible and therefore comprehensible. Within the limits of the topic, both Franklin and the politics of Pennsylvania are discussed with sophisticated mastery. The book is attractive, well written, and fully documented.

HENRY J. YOUNG

Dickinson College

The American Enlightenment: The Shaping of the American Experiment and a Free Society. Edited with an introduction by ADRIENNE KOCH. New York: George Braziller, 1965. 669. $8.50.

This volume is a selection of the more important writings of five of the most prominent of the American Founding Fathers: Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton, who, the editor argues, may "be considered 'the representative men' of the American Enlightenment." In addition to a short biographical and evaluative introduction to the writings of each individual, there is a long general introduction by the editor in which she describes the relationship of the Enlightenment in Europe to the Enlightenment in America with attention to both the community of ideas and the distinctiveness of

the American version, surveys the contribution of each of her five subjects to both the practical and philosophical problems of their age, and presents an eloquent plea for the importance of what Jefferson referred to as the "life and soul of history"—that is, as the editor writes, "what men thought and argued"—as opposed to mere "external facts" to any satisfactory understanding of the meaning of the American Revolution. Both because the editor has limited her selections to only five of its major figures and because she does not, except in the most general terms, attempt to identify and explain the many diverse and complementary elements in the thought of her five subjects and to relate those elements to the central events with which they were concerned, this volume is less than ideal as an edition of the writings of the American Enlightenment. As a handy and well-selected one-volume collection of the writings of those five men, however, it is unexcelled.

JACK P. GREENE

The Johns Hopkins University

Pulitzer's Prize Editor. A Biography of John A. Cockerill, 1845-1896. By HOMER W. KING. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1965. xx, 336. $6.50.

The name of Joseph Pulitzer, owner and publisher of the New York *World* is universally known; not so that of John A. Cockerill, his managing editor. In this biography, Mr. King undertakes to do belated justice to the latter.

Cockerill was born in Adams County, Ohio, the son of a school teacher who, like a number of Cockerills, embraced the Union cause, volunteered for military service in the western theater of the Civil War and rose to the rank of colonel. Young John enlisted when less than sixteen years old and earned local renown as the "drummer boy of Shiloh". Pneumonia cut short his army career and he returned home to learn the rudiments of the newspaper profession on county weeklies. From these he advanced to the Cincinnati *Inquirer*. His outstanding work there attracted the attention of Pulitzer who had bought the St. Louis *Dispatch* at an auction sale for $2500 and merged it with the *Post*. Pulitzer took Cockerill on as managing editor and the partnership was just be-

ginning to get results when Cockerill shot and killed a lawyer who resented something the newspaper had said about him. The shooting was clearly a matter of self defense, but public opinion turned against both Pulitzer and Cockerill and for the time being their usefulness in St. Louis came to an end.

Under these circumstances Pulitzer in 1883 bought the New York *World,* then a losing property owned by Jay Gould, the financier, and invited Cockerill to join him. In New York's famous Park Row the adventurers from the Middle West found themselves in competition with the late Horace Greeley's *Tribune,* James Gordon Bennett Jr.'s *Herald* and Charles A. Dana's *Sun,* all a trifle stodgy. New York, suffering from growing pains was a hotbed of crime, immorality, political corruption and poverty. The time was ripe for a moral crusade and the *World* seized the opportunity. It cut its price, made itself the champion of the poor against the rich and cultivated a sensationalism that gave it popular appeal. Its circulation began to soar, profits rose accordingly and soon the *World* was making a million dollars a year for its owner.

Meanwhile Pulitzer's health failed and blindness was approaching. He spent much of his time in foreign travel. Mr. King's contention is that Cockerill, who by now had achieved the title of "Colonel" if not the rank, and who was constantly on the job, was largely responsible for the newspaper's success. It was he who violated the existing code by hiring a woman reporter. Veterans of the staff might fuss and fume at the presence in the city room of comely Elizabeth Cochrane, known to the public as Nellie Bly; but they had to admit defeat when she posed as a madwoman, was committed to an insane asylum and wrote a series of articles on evil conditions there, and in other disguises disclosed political bribery, the lives of chorus girls and other arresting matters. Her most spectacular stunt was, of course, circling the world in seventy-two days, six hours, and ten minutes, thereby bettering the record of Jules Verne's imaginary Phineas Fogg. Bill Nye, the humorist, and Walt McDougall, the political cartoonist who did much to swing Cleveland's victory over Blaine in the presidential election of 1884, are other finds attributed to Cockerill. Cockerill also insisted on simple words and writing that made for easy reading.

Yet, according to the author, Pulitzer showed reluctance to reward his staff in proportion to the wealth their efforts brought him. Differences arose over management and, in the spring of 1891, Cockerill walked out of the *World* office never to return. He undertook to put another New York newspaper on its feet as he and Pulitzer had done with the *World,* but failed. He then joined

Bennett's *Herald* as a foreign correspondent assigned to Japan and died of a stroke in Egypt on his way home.

The author presents a strong case for Cockerill, yet it is significant that when the Colonel operated alone he couldn't make a go of it. This suggests that, even in absentia, Pulitzer must have exerted a guiding influence over his managing editor which, though difficult to define, was essential to Cockerill's success.

FRANCIS F. BEIRNE

Baltimore, Md.

The Heart is Like Heaven: The Life of Lydia Maria Child. By HELENE G. BAER. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964. 339. $6.50.

Present concern with the nation's racial problems has led to a renewed interest in our reform traditions. Some recent authors, however, have shown a sympathy which frequently borders on unabashed hero-worship. Mrs. Baer's life of Lydia Maria Child, "dean of the lady abolitionists," as she has been called, follows the popular trend. A common peril of this vogue is the adoption of nineteenth century sentiments and language, a danger Mrs. Baer did not elude. Carried away by the young Lydia Maria Francis' devotion to nature, the author concludes, "Flowers seemed to love her too." (p. 20.) This irascible enemy of the South had a lot more iron in her Yankee soul, even as an adolescent, one suspects, than her biographer would have us believe.

There is no question, however, that Mrs. Baer has performed a useful service in giving us a lively, and sometimes moving account. We still know too little about the quirks of personality, the backgrounds, and the presumptions of "Gideon's Band" of abolitionists to form any lasting generalizations about them. Mrs. Baer clearly shows that Maria Child was an heir of that New England small-town evangelicalism which produced William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Weld, John Humphrey Noyes and many other leaders of antebellum reforms. With others of her race, she shared the trait of tenacious ambition along with its corollary of hard work. Like Garrison she early determined to be famous, and like many other practical Yankees, she had good business sense, writing historical and sentimental novels on American themes suited to attract the middle class readers of this easy genre. Her verse was banal (not

"sweet" as Mrs. Baer claims), but it met the undemanding standards of the day. Goaded by her puritan conscience and her lawyer-husband's arguments, Mrs. Child inevitably lent her pen and prestige to the antislavery movement. While stung by "persecution" (the loss of her Boston Athenaeum library card), Mrs. Child considered this period of her life, the 1830's, as a time when "The Holy Spirit did actually descend upon men and women in tongues of flame." If Mrs. Baer had spent more time describing Maria's contribution to the antislavery cause and devoted less space to her platonic friendship for John Hopper, son of her Quaker landlord, she might have captured the mood of this influential episode in her life.

Mrs. Baer is perhaps most convincing in dealing with Maria's relationships with others rather than her public life. Yet, even here there are lapses. It seems unfair of the author to blame David Child's presumed lack of sexual prowess (Chapter 7) for their childlessness and unhappy married life without giving sufficient proof. Moreover, the author might have shown a little compassion toward the long-suffering husband by allowing him a quotation or two in his own behalf. After all, the phenomenal literary productivity of his high-strung, and occasionally mean-spirited wife might have had an unmanning effect on even a sturdier and more worldly husband.

Although Mrs. Baer handles particular domestic scenes with imagination and occasional power, she has not written a satisfactory work. There is little critical perception, sharpness, or sense of character development. A major problem too is the lack of source references, so that one is left to speculate on the plausibility of some of the author's rather sweeping generalizations. All in all, *The Heart is Like Heaven* leaves the reader with more questions in mind than answers, but Mrs. Baer has supplied a future biographer with a valuable point of departure.

BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN

University of Colorado

Chesapeake Duke. By GILBERT BYRON. Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1965. 180. $3.95.

Gilbert Byron, the gentle author of Old House Cove, Talbot County, has here told a delightful little story about a boy and his bay dog growing up in Chestertown. While aimed at the younger

reader, the tale will delight adults with its detail and nostalgia of the turn of the twentieth century. This volume is not a history of one of America's three breeds of dogs; that remains to be done.

C. A. P. H.

Washington, Capital City, 1879-1950. By CONSTANCE MCLAUGHLIN GREEN. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1963. xvii, 558. $9.50.

Washington in 1950 was truly a vastly different city that it was in 1879. It had, according to Mrs. Green, completed the transformation from a village to the capital city of the nation as well as that of the free world. This book is a social and economic study of those changes which occurred to make that characterization possible.

This is the second volume of the history of Washington, D.C. The first volume, which was published in 1962, is sub-titled *Village and Capital, 1800-1878.* It was the winner of the Pulitzer Prize for History in 1963. This first volume, just as the book now being reviewed, is also a description of the growth of the local community together with an account of the people and the institutions which made up the local community, and how and why it was influenced by the status of the national capital.

One might imagine that Mrs. Green would have considered the role of Washington in the political life of the nation. She has not done so, simply because most of the political affairs of the nation are well enough known. With the local community, however, it is a different story. This book, then, is the story of two separate communities, which until late in the period made up two distinct areas in the nation's capital: the white and the Negro. Only near the end of the era did the two communities begin to merge although some efforts had certainly been made in the past.

The story of Washington since 1879 is also the story of rapid development. As the city grew, it stretched out into the suburbs and became a metropolis. Mrs. Green's book is the description of this rapid and complicated growth which has continued even until the present time. One might suppose that she could write a separate volume for the period since 1950, the changes have been so numerous.

Like the first volume in this series, this present volume does not claim to be the definitive history of Washington, D.C. It is, rather,

only a survey of the forces and the trends which contributed to the city's growth and development. Old-time Washingtonians will meet old friends in this book, while the newcomers or those who have been in the city only "temporarily" for the past twenty years will better understand the life and times of our federal city. One could only wish that Mrs. Green might have considered what, if any, contributions national figures made. But, that would have distorted her emphasis. We need good urban histories. This is certainly one of the better.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Maryland Hall of Records

Confederate Courier. By HELEN JONES CAMPBELL. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1964. xvi, 301. $6.95.

Confederate Courier is a fictionized account dealing with the relations between John Harrison Surratt and the conspirators who perpetrated the death of Lincoln and also Surratt's flight following the assassination, his final apprehension in Egypt and his trial upon return to the United States. In evaluating such a narration, the reviewer is faced with the question: Is it fiction or history? Helen Campbell has studiously striven in her account to stick to the facts and to present them as accurately as possible. And so the question is answered for us. We shall not be concerned with *Confederate Courier* as a novel but as a work of history spun from the thread of pertinent facts.

Before we leave *Confederate Courier* as a novel, we do want to say that it lags quite seriously in the second part when it becomes involved in a procession of the summations of witnesses' testimony at the trial of John Surratt in 1867. Much imagination must be used when an author is dealing with a dry text like the transcript of Surratt's trial and Mrs. Campbell tries to liven the material a bit by adding small details gleaned from her imagination. We have no quarrel with this but the author does it so consciously and laboriously at times that you can almost tell when such a comment is going to occur and what it will be. "His voice was heavy with weariness," for example, is a rather self-evident comment to use in describing the manner of a witness' testimony.

The first part of the book dealing with events up to the time of the assassination is quite creative in that the author has worked up the scant material available into half the book. In the second half dealing with the trial, she must condense large amounts of material

but unfortunately, she allows almost every witness the same amount of space for his testimony giving the impression perhaps that the testimony is of equal value.

The implication is given (p. 23) that John Surratt was prevented from continuing his course at St. Charles College—which incidentally was then located near Ellicott City (p. 14)—by the lack of funds. This is not so. The decision not to continue for the priesthood was the reason he left St. Charles. The college was exclusively a seminary preparatory to St. Mary's in Baltimore. Tuition at the time Surratt attended was only $100 a year and at that time only half of the enrollment was able to pay this. As in seminaries today, he would have been kept without paying. It is not, as stated on p. 35, that he was told to pay or not return.

Louis Weichmann had been out of St. Charles since July, 1862 so the information (p. 185 ff.) that he was considered unworthy of proceeding in his studies in May, 1865 because of his testimony at the trial of the conspirators needs explanation. Undoubtedly, the author's substantiation of this is sound but the fact of his teaching at St. Matthew's and working in the War Department seems to indicate that a decision not to continue for the priesthood was made previous to Lincoln's assassination.

The whole position of Henri Beaumont de Sainte-Marie is one which we feel Mrs. Campbell has not been too accurate in delineating. Surratt met Sainte-Marie for the first time when Sainte-Marie was still a priest in good standing and stationed at Texas, Maryland, as the assistant of Father Walton. Later on, he left the priesthood and we meet him again in the story when he is a Papal Zouave. In narrating this first meeting (p. 35), the author has mixed up Father Walton with Father Waldron and his small school of St. Charles in Pikesville, Maryland. This same confusion exists on page 125 and there, as well as in the following pages, the author accepts the testimony of Sante-Marie without any question. His testimony presented in the diplomatic dispatches dealing with Surratt's extradition and at his subsequent trial cannot be accepted as is. The material he presents must be critically evaluated.

Contrary to what is stated (p. 206), Sainte-Marie did not see Surratt at Malta since the *Swatara* returned them both from Alexandria where Surratt had been picked up. The *Swatara* traveled via Port Mahon, Villa Franca and Madeira, Sainte-Marie being removed from the ship at Villa Franca at his own request.

The remaining of John Surratt in Canada while his mother was tried and executed is a bit of an enigma. If he would risk the chance of being captured and ending his days before a Union firing

squad for running messages through the Union lines, why did he not return to his innocent mother's defense at the risk of death from the same source? This Mrs. Campbell attempts to answer by her narrative of this episode but in this section, she is inclined to use too much imagination to compensate for the dearth of material.

Beginning with chapter 16, Dr. Lewis J. A. McMillan enters the narrative. A criticism similar to that made of the testimony of Henri Sainte-Marie can be placed here. Mrs. Campbell accepts McMillan's testimony to American diplomatic personnel and at the Surratt trial without making any critical appraisal. His testimony must be evaluated in the light of other evidence especially where this evidence is contradictory to his testimony. This acceptance is somewhat startling in view of her statement (p. 217) that McMillan did reverse statements in the different testimonies he made.

The testimony of John M. Lloyd beginning on page 175 is entirely too long to be introduced in the form of almost direct quotation since most of the material is not pertinent to the case of John Surratt.

Finally, there are three very minor points. We do not think you will find big-mouthed bass in the salt bays of Southern Maryland (p. 39). The author's admiration for Surratt's loyalty to the South is admirable (p. 43) but in view of her later narrative, it is not at all necessary. Her failure to use in chapter 16 the material from the log of the *Swatara,* available in the National Archives, is somewhat lamentable.

Much work and effort have gone into this book. From the historical point of view, it is basically sound and we do not wish to detract from this by our indicating lapses, minor in our opinion, from this historicity. Parts of the work are difficult to read for the reasons mentioned above but it is rewarding particularly for anyone interested in this period of American history.

REV. ALFRED ISACSSON

Saint Simon Stock,
Bronx, New York

Sources of Our Liberties. Edited for the American Bar Association by RICHARD L. PERRY. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959. First McGraw-Hill Paperback Edition, 1964. xxii, 456. $3.45.

Sources of Our Liberties, edited by Richard L. Perry for the American Bar Association with the assistance of John Cobb Cooper,

is intended to be a collection of those documents, as Mr. Cooper says in his foreword, that constitute "the major legal sources of our individual liberties". Mr. Perry is a lawyer from the District of Columbia, and Mr. Cooper is a former chairman of the American Bar Association's Committee on American Citizenship.

To be a source of liberties, it would seem, a document must be one through which a legally constituted authority—whether that authority be a king or a parliament or a whole body of people acting under a sort of compact theory of government—grants new liberties or confirms old ones. In order to be a source of liberties a document must have or must have had some constitutional basis, either must be accepted by present authority or must have been accepted by the authority of the time in which it was drawn up and proclaimed. On this ground one can argue with the editors' including, as sources of American rights, the Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress, the Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress, and the Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms. These documents have no basis in law at all, but rather they are extra-legal pronouncements of extra-legal bodies. The same is true of the Declaration of Independence, even though in Mr. Perry's introduction to that document one finds the astounding assertion that "The colonies became legally independent of Great Britain on July 2 [1776] with the passage of [Richard Henry] Lee's first resolution. . . ."

When Mr. Perry in his introductions writes about American documents, as for example about the American Bill of Rights, he leaves the impression that since a document exists the rights that that document guarantees remain inviolate. The truth of course is that not only did kings often fail to honor their commitments, but sometimes also Americans failed to put into effect the provisions of the charters that they themselves drew up and ratified.

Mr. Cooper's foreword is often inaccurate. Speaking of the Mayflower Compact, for example, he says that "In the background of its single paragraph and few sentences lies the principle of freedom of religion." Speaking of the Massachusetts Charter of 1629, he says that Mr. Perry's introduction to that document "makes it clear that representative government had come to New England in the North as it had come to Virginia in the South." Speaking of the Massachusetts Body of Liberties, he says that "None of the major individual liberties which it asserted were [*sic*] thereafter abandoned."

This volume is a careless one. That carelessness is illustrated by the publisher's noting on the back cover that this "unique and us-

able volume" contains thirty-six unabridged documents. Actually there are thirty-two. The carelessness is illustrated also by the errors of the editors in the identification and in the dating of some of the documents that they include. They identify one of their documents as the Constitution of Virginia, and they date it June 12, 1776. But they include only the Virginia Bill of Rights of that date. This entry therefore not only represents an inaccurate identification but it a considerable abridgment as well. The provincial congress of Virginia adopted the first constitution of Virginia not on June 12, 1776 but rather on June 29, 1776. Thus added to incorrect identification and unadmitted abridgment is false dating.

A third example of carelessness is the dating of the Ordinances for Virginia. At the heading of the document itself the editors provide it with two dates—November 28, 1618, in parentheses, and July 24, 1621. At the beginning of the introduction to that document they date it simply 1618, and in his foreword Mr. Cooper dates it 1618 and then points out that the text that they include is the text not of 1618 but rather of 1621 but that since the text of 1621 is "practically identical" to the text of 1618 it is acceptable to give the later text the earlier date. Such deliberate inaccuracy is repugnant to the serious historian.

The student who seeks even the most primitive understanding of these documents will have to look someplace else.

C. Ashley Ellefson

State University College
Cortland, New York

Southern History In the Making: Pioneer Historians of the South. By Wendell Holmes Stephenson. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964. ix, 294. $7.50.

Stephenson has drawn colorful, imaginative portraits of the men who were instrumental in making southern history. Enthusiastic Herbert B. Adams and witty, dynamic William A. Dunning stimulated interest in a systematic and critical treatment of the South's past at Johns Hopkins and Columbia. Alabamians William Garrett Brown (biographer, literary craftsman, journalist), George Petrie (teacher *par excellence*), and Thomas M. Owen (lawyer, pioneer archival organizer, administrator, editor) created an interest in, and collected the records for the study of southern history. John Spencer Bassett, prolific liberal, founder of the *South Atlantic Quarterly,* William P. Trent, southern biographer and founder of

the *Sewanee Review,* Charles W. Ramsdell, reconstruction historian, president of the Southern and Mississippi Valley Historical Associations and co-planner of the *History of the South* series, and young Ulrich B. Phillips encouraged the collection of historical records in North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Georgia, respectively. These pioneers laid the foundation for systematic southern historical scholarship, vast accumulations of manuscript and printed materials in archives and libraries, and a lively interest in the region's past.

Stephenson's book resembles a sale to which one goes expecting to buy certain items; they are not there, but so many other attractive ones are. This is no continuous story of the development of Southern History ("historians" active before 1900, the real "pioneers," are ignored); it is more the "Johns Hopkins Story;" it is more a delightful manual for writing and teaching history, and a commentary on American historical scholarship. Although generally heavily documented, the work has the usual weaknesses of a collection of articles: unnecessary repetition, lack of unity, and uneven quality. While this reviewer laments the exclusion of such personal favorites as Coulter, Woodson, and Dubois, he believes Stephenson has presented a panoramic view of southern historians which should be invaluable to beginning students and instructive to professional historians.

JOHN W. BLASSINGAME

Howard University

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

Calendar of Sussex County Delaware Probate Records, 1680-1800. Compiled by LEON DE VALINGER, JR. Dover, Del.: Public Archives Commission, 1964. 397. $6.

The Era of Reconstruction 1865-1877. By KENNETH M. STAMPP. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1965. ix, 229. $4.95.

Colonials and Patriots: Historic Places Commemorating Our Forebears, 1700-1783. By FRANK B. SARLES, JR. and CHARLES E. SHEDD. Edited by JOHN PORTER BLOOM and ROBERT M. UTLEY. Washington, D. C., National Park Service, 1964. Volume VI. The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. xvii, 286. $2.75.

The Case for Liberty. By HELEN HILL MILLER. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1965. xvi, 257. $5.95.

Under Their Vine and Fig Tree: Travels Through America in 1797-1799, 1805. By JULIAN URSYN NIEMCEWICZ. Translated and edited by METCHE J. E. BUDKA. Elizabeth, N. J.: The Grassmann Publishing Company, Inc., 1965. Published as Volume XIV in the Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society at Newark. lvii, 398. $10.

A Guide to Decoration in the Early American Manner. By NADINE COX WILSON. Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1965. 122. $4.50.

Appomattox: The Last Campaign. By BURLEIGH CUSHING RODICK. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1965. 220. $6.

David Glassburn, Virginia Pioneer: His Ten Children and Related Families, Carpenter, Peisinger, Pottenger, Jacobs, Robinson and Others. By OMA GLASBURN ROBINSON. Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1964. x, 355. $17.50.

Winthrop's Boston: A Portrait of a Puritan Town, 1630-1649. By DARRETT B. RUTMAN. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1965. Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg. x, 324. $7.50

The Arts in Early American History: Needs and Opportunities for Study. By WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL. A Bibliography by WENDELL D. GARRETT and JANE N. GARRETT. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1965. Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg. xv, 170. $4.50.

The Southern States Since the War, 1870-1871. By ROBERT SOMERS. Introduction and index by MALCOLM C. MCMILLAN. University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1965. xxi, 293. $5.95.

The Papers of James Madison, Volume 4, 1782. Edited by WILLIAM T. HUTCHISON and WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965. xxviii, 486. $12.50.

Historical Statistics of the United States. Continuation to 1962 and Revisions. Washington: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1965. iv, 155. $1.

Arlington National Cemetery. By GENE GURNEY. New York: Crown Publishers, 1965. 138. $3.95.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Nathaniel Hawthorne—One of the volumes of the definitive Centenary Edition of the works of Hawthorne will be a complete bibliography. We are convinced that there were a great many more reprints of Hawthorne's tales and sketches in local newspapers and magazines than have so far been discovered, and that such reprints are an index to Hawthorne's popularity outside the large cities. We also think that there are printings and states of Hawthorne's books that have never been listed; only the better known libraries have been searched for these.

Using the 1963 directory of the American Association for State and Local History, we are asking some of the local historical societies of the East, South, and Middlewest to give us what help they can in our search. We are not, of course, asking anyone to do research for us. We do ask anyone who has used local newspapers and magazines *published between 1830 and 1864* (the span of Hawthorne's effective writing career) and who remembers seeing reprints of Hawthorne, to give us the exact date and title of the periodicals. We should also like to hear from anyone who has seen copies of Hawthorne's *books* published between 1828 and 1849 whose title pages carry *double* imprints, that is, the name of a Boston or New York publisher *plus* that of a local publisher or bookseller. We are interested also in Hawthorne volumes that carry only a local imprint.

William Charvat
Ohio State University
164 W. 17th Ave., Columbus, O. 43210

Alexander Gould, Sr.—I would like to hear from any descendants or relatives of Mr. Gould, pioneer Baltimore business man and land owner. He lived at 368 S. Light Street; died in 1859 and is buried in the family vault in Greenmount Cemetery.

L. R. Colburn
106 Heather Lane
Delray Beach, Fla. 33444

Forrest Family—I would appreciate information on the Forrest family of Maryland and Virginia—the forebears of Rev. Jonathan Forrest and his wife, Comfort R. Forrest. Rev. Forrest was a pioneer Methodist minister on the Calvert County Circuit. He was born in Anne Arundel County and subsequently moved to Frederick County. Associated with him was the Rev. Nelson Read. Was Comfort R. Forrest, Comfort *Read* Forrest, and was she related to Rev. Nelson Read? Related families were Hamilton, Nelson, Hanson and Upton. A book is in preparation on the Forrest and allied families.

Miss Elsie Walker Butterworth
Walker House, Wallingford, Pa.

Belle Boyd—I have contracted to prepare a new edition of the autobiography, *Belle Boyd, in Camp and Prison* (London, 1865; New York, 1866), being the memoirs of the Confederate spy, Mrs. Belle (Boyd) Mardinge (1843-1900). Since she received her only formal education at Mount Washington College, Baltimore; resided or visited in Maryland briefly at later periods, and had acquaintances in the State, I am hoping that readers of the *Magazine* may have ancestors who knew Belle Boyd. If any letters or other documents remain which record this acquaintanceship, or if such readers know of any printed data on Belle (other than L. A. Sigaud's biography), it is my hope that they will communicate with me.

Curtis Carroll Davis
Homewood Apartments—A-2
Baltimore, Md. 21218

Benson-Adrion—Information will be appreciated concerning the parents and dates and places of births and deaths of Reuben Benson and Margaret Adrion (Adreon, Adrean, or Adrian), both of Baltimore County. Married November 23, 1824, their children included Amos (1825-1901), Benjamin Franklin (1835-1902), and Susan (married October 22, 1857 to John C. Nutting).

DeWitt C. Smith
5301 Edgemoor Lane
Bethesda, Maryland 20014

Cover Picture—From *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, Oct. 4, 1862, p. 29. The Union artillery is pictured as they opened on the rear of Jackson's army, on the opposite bank of the Monocacy. The sketch was rendered by Leslie's staff artist, F. H. Schell.

CONTRIBUTORS

GEORGE H. WILLIAMS is a student of Maryland's colonial history. He majored in American literature and history at Harvard University.

VIRGINIA O. BARDSLEY is Assistant Professor of History at Clemson University.

ARTHUR KARINEN is Associate Professor of Geography at Chico State College, California. Since his last work for the *Magazine,* he completed a book on the geography of California for schools.

HAROLD M. PARKER is Instructor in Religion at Southwestern College, Kansas. Now on sabbatical leave he is attending Iliff School of Theology, Denver, Colorado.

ALEXANDRA LEE LEVIN last published "When The Old Mercy Hospital Was New" in the December, 1964 number of the *Magazine.*

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Annual Report for 1964

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

AS WAS the case in the previous year, much of the director's time in 1964 was given to conferences with the architects, with the president and Building Committee, and with city officials relative to the Thomas and Hugg Memorial addition to the headquarters of the Society. Substantial consideration was given also to the problems of maintaining as much service as possible to patrons during the building operations and of protecting the holdings of the Society during that period.

On the following occasions the director represented the Society: the Dorsey Family Reunion at "Hockley-in-the-Hole" near Annapolis; the dedication of the Maryland Room in the Prince George's County Regional Library at Hyattsville; the Annual Meeting in Baltimore of the United Daughters of the Confederacy; and the dedication of the new Visitors Information Center at Fort McHenry. In addition to talks given at historical societies and educational institutions, listed elsewhere, others were given to the Women's Club of Hagerstown; the Maryland State Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution; and to a number of clubs and service organizations.

In company with the Gallery Committee a visit was made to the Smithsonian Institution to observe exhibition and storage techniques. Other visits were made to the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and to the New York Historical Society.

During the year the Society of the *Ark* and the *Dove* and the Woman's Eastern Shore Society frequently met in the Keyser Memorial Building. The Society had the additional pleasure of playing host to the National Society of Colonial Dames in the State of Maryland for its annual Emilie McKim Reed lecture and to the Society of the Cincinnati in Maryland for its annual meeting. Two other notable occasions were a special night meeting of the National Steamship Historical Society and a visit by over 100 members of the Society of Military Historians. The year's attendance at the Society totalled 20,030 persons of whom 6,528 were school pupils.

The director of the Historic Road Marker Program, Mr. C. A.

Porter Hopkins reports a year of notable accomplishment. Thirty markers were erected in 11 counties; 7 of them were paid for by other organizations. Five of those erected were replacements of damaged or missing ones; two others were re-located.

In addition, under a special arrangement with the Maryland Civil War Centennial Commission begun in late summer, Mr. Hopkins processed 30 other markers, the texts of which were prepared by the History, Themes and Memorials Committee of the Commission, Dr. Theodore Whitfield of Westminster, chairman. Though some of these markers may not be erected until spring 1965 the necessary processing was completed before the December 15 deadline. Personnel of the State Roads Commission and of county historical societies continue their high interest in and support of the program.

Personally and on behalf of the Society I acknowledge with appreciation the valuable assistance from the many friends who perform various tasks on a voluntary basis. Members of the staff have carried forward the work of the Society with their usual excellent cooperation under conditions already somewhat complicated by the building operations. I am grateful to them all.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE, *Director*

REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE ATHENAEUM

During the year three of four handsome chandeliers, salvaged from 209 and 221 West Monument Street, were installed in the Keyser Memorial Building in the Leakin, the Redwood and the Patterson-Bonaparte rooms, respectively.

The director was requested to survey with competent consultants the present headquarters of the Society with a view to determining its condition and preparing a list of refurbishing needs to be accomplished at approximately the same time that the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building is completed.

LUCIUS R. WHITE, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY

Members of the gallery staff are Miss Eugenia Calvert Holland, assistant curator, and Mrs. Virginia M. Swarm, registrar. The director acts as curator. Miss Holland has additional duties in public relations and liaison with other organizations.

The Committee and the Society suffered a great loss during the year in the death of its former chairman, John H. Scarff. A member of the Society since 1939, director of the Historic Road Marker Pro-

gram 1954-56, and chairman of the Committee on the Gallery since 1940, he was a recognized scholar who gave generously of his knowledge.

Though the Committee did not formally meet in 1964, its members frequently discussed with the staff the procedures necessary to protect the Society's collections during the construction of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building, especially during the period when connections between the new structure and the Keyser Memorial Building will be made.

During the year 103 donors presented 1,680 items to the gallery and museum. Among the 15 portraits received were paintings of the following: Mrs. Louis C. Lehr of Baltimore, signed "Mrs. Leslie Cotton, Paris, 1922"; Colonel Trueman Cross of Maryland and his wife, the former Eliza Bradley Beanes of Prince George's County, each by Samuel Lovett Waldo, the gift of Mrs. Henrietta Horner of New York; a self portrait of the native Baltimore artist, Thomas Coke Ruckle (1808-1891) from Mrs. Edward F. Gordon, of Franklin Park, Ill., great-grandniece of the artist; a three-quarter length portrait of Samuel Sprigg, Governor of Maryland 1819-1822, at the age of ten, from the estate of the late Mary Bradley Anderson; and from the estate of the late Madeleine Gillett Gill an oil portrait of Rosalie Gill at the age of five and Martin Gillett Gill aged two, by Alfred J. Miller.

In addition to seven miniatures and many pieces of jewelry, a number of silver items were received. Among the last named were: an oval tray 37" x 23" by Samuel Kirk, a presentation piece given to General Columbus O'Donnell in 1871 in appreciation of his 39-year service as president of the Gas Light Company of Baltimore. The donor was his great-grandson, Mr. John C. O'Donnell of Portsmouth, Rhode Island. Another Kirk item, this from Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Strouse, was a model of the Washington Monument, Baltimore, presented in 1893 by the employees of the Strouse Brothers Clothing Company to Isaac Leopold Strouse, president, on the 25th anniversary of the founding of the firm.

Among a number of items presented by Captain W. Claiborne Latrobe, USN (Ret.) were a handsome Oriental punch bowl with the unusual diameter of 24 inches, and a light mahogany side chair with slip seat, believed to have been Baltimore made and considered by several experts to be an important Empire piece.

The most notable gift of the year was the generous bequest of the late Mrs. Louis C. Lehr (Eleanor Addison Moale) of $25,000 to be used in the Society's discretion for the preservation of the portrait

collection. Similar gifts designated for the repair and restoration of other paintings and of furniture and maritime items would be tremendous contributions.

In addition to numerous loans to schools and business firms, important items went to the Cleveland Museum of Art for an exhibition titled "Neo-Classicism, Style and Motif"; to the Maryland Pavillion at the New York World's Fair; to the Bowdoin College Museum of Art exhibition, "The Negro in American Painting"; to the Jewish Historical Society of Maryland for an exhibit relating to the Cohen family; to Maryland Ducks, Unlimited; to the Peabody Institute for an exhibit, "Duelling Arms"; and to the Louisiana State Museum for an exhibition titled "The Sesquicentennial Celebration of the Battle of New Orleans."

During the year a deliberate effort was made to present exhibits at the Society consisting wholly or substantially of items from its collections. In connection with the afternoon lecture, "Pennsylvania Dutch Discoveries," a display of frakturs was shown. Senator Brewster's talk, "Baltimore As a Leading Presidential Convention City," was supplemented by such items as photographs, newspapers, political badges and cartoons, and included some material from the Peale Museum. The illustrated lecture, "Jewelry In and Out of Style," by Miss Elisabeth Packard was presented against a background of an appropriate display, as was the talk given by Mr. J. Jefferson Miller II on "Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Market."

The summer months saw exhibits of Baltimore-published sheet music from the Society's Louis H. Dielman Collection and "Fans from Around the World" from the Etha Barr Passano collection. The lecture by Dr. Paul Norton, "B. H. Latrobe and the Practice of Keeping a Journal" was enriched by an exhibit of selections from the Latrobe Collection which emphasized the versatility of the architect. Finally, the annual Christmas exhibition depicted the observances of the holiday season at periods ca. 1800, 1850 and 1900. For help in planning, mounting and dismounting most of the exhibits the staff is indebted to the Women's Committee.

During the year also Mr. Thomas Eader of the library staff arranged two permanent exhibits in the building: one flanking The Star-Spangled Banner niche, explaining the background for the writing of the National Anthem, and the other in the Confederate Room, presenting the story of the writing of "Maryland, My Maryland." Mr. Eader also planned the Christmas exhibit.

During the year six paintings were restored, two, those of Colonel and Mrs. Trueman Cross, through their donor, and 15 pieces of

furniture were generously cleaned, restored, or reupholstered at cost by J. W. Berry & Son.

During the year Miss Holland maintained liaison with such groups as the Maryland House and Garden Pilgrimage, the National Society of Colonial Dames in the State of Maryland, the Society of the *Ark* and the *Dove*, and the Mother Seton House Restoration Committee.

ANNE M. WILLIAMS, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY

Personnel.

During 1964, the library staff was the following: Librarian (Assistant to the Director, Library and Archives) Mr. John D. Kilbourne; assistant librarians, Miss A. Hester Rich and Mr. Thomas S. Eader. Mrs. Forrest W. Lord retired as secretary on February 28, and Mr. Ronald W. Keuchen replaced her on April 20. Mr. Lloyd T. Bowers was employed as indexer on January 2. The Misses Louisa M. Gray and Esther N. Taylor remained as manuscript restorers. Mr. Thomas A. Lombardi was employed full-time for a portion of the year and part-time for the remainder as general library assistant. Miss Florence Kelly was employed part-time to revise the filing procedures in the manuscript index files. Because of lack of funds no additional summer help was employed, as has been customary in the past.

The Society is indebted to the volunteers who have furthered its work materially. During 1964, Miss Mary C. Hiss assisted by the Misses Nancy Ridout, Eliza Funk, Jessie Slee and Mrs. G. W. Cauthorn continued the management of the Dielman Biographical File. Mr. Richard H. Randall, Sr. has performed numerous services for the library, more particularly in the field of maritime materials often somewhat unfamiliar to the staff proper. Miss Madeleine Wells, receptionist, assists with mounting material for the vertical file, as well as preparing cards for the *Maryland Historical Magazine* index.

The volume of material necessary to keep up to date our clipping files, including the Dielman Biographical File, increases yearly. In addition to the volunteers named, Mrs. William Bevan has continued her valuable assistance in sending us important materials. The files are maintained by Miss Selma Grether, docent, with assistance from Miss Elizabeth Merritt, the librarian and others.

Miss Betty Adler continued her preparation of the consolidated index to the *Magazine*. During the year work was completed on

Volumes 14 to 21, inclusive. Additional editorial tasks on this project, including the alphabetization of the cards, are performed by Mrs. Katherine Thomas and Mrs. Thea Kittel. The annual indexes to the *Magazine* are prepared by Mr. Frank F. White, Jr., who this year also completed an index to *Maryland History Notes*, Volumes 11 to 20. The librarian exercises general editorial supervision over these projects.

Visitors.

During the year, 3,066 persons, fewer than we have had in recent years, visited the library. Of those who signed the register, 565 indicated that they were members of the Society. The busiest months were January and October, and fewer people visited the library in June and May, in that order.

General Staff Activities.

This field is most important among the functions of the staff. It is such unseen activities as arranging, cataloging, and indexing that permits the library to operate efficiently and to answer inquiries quickly and satisfactorily. No aspect of these activities can be said to be more important than another, for even the mere shelving of a book must be done in a way which permits it to be produced at a given moment. We are constantly concerned with the problem of making more available to researchers our manuscript collections. It can never be too often reiterated, however, that the mere physical preservation of materials is not enough: they must also be maintained in a condition to be used by the researchers through whose interpretation the document is made meaningful. It is partly for this reason that the impending establishment of the Manuscripts Division is looked upon as so vital to the library's operations.

Less manuscript indexing was done during 1964 than in previous years. This was due to many causes: the increased use by patrons of the collections, making possible less attention by the staff to manuscript work; the fact that planning in regard to the new building occupied considerable staff time; and, most important of all, the lack of funds with which to make annual grants to one or more students for library employment during the summer vacation.

In regard to the cataloging of library materials, the situation was brighter. Miss Rich cataloged 1296 volumes (of 1165 titles). Included in this figure were all current acquisitions and some backlog of books. A special effort was made to catalog the library's interesting collections of auction catalogs (pertaining to Maryland personalities, and/or collections), and of almanacs printed in Maryland. Both projects were completed and in cataloging the almanacs, many

unique and unknown items were discovered. It can be said that our Maryland collection is the most important in the country. An estimated 5,000 cards were typed and filed.

Not only is the indexing of the manuscript collections important, but the preparation of indexes and filing aids in connection with other materials makes the work of the researcher and of the staff more interesting and less complex. During 1964 many such projects were forwarded and some new ones were begun, most of them in the capable hands of Mr. Lombardi. Particular attention was paid to pictures, and a card file of portraits of Marylanders to be found in books in our possession was begun. In this area, Mr. Eader was able to forward the filing of photographs and photographic negatives owned by us. Prints, which in the past had received less attention, were sorted into categories and filed in a manner to make future location easier. Messrs. Eader and Lombardi devised a method of hanging in the stacks all previously stored framed photographs, prints and other items, thus giving ready access to these awkward items. A card index was prepared describing them, and noting their locations in the stacks and throughout the building.

A descriptive brochure of our picture collection was prepared as a guide to materials in our possession. It is proposed to distribute this to publishers, historical and other agencies interested in picture sources in order to promote publication and use of our items. From this we hope to derive considerable revenue.

Mr. Lombardi completed the arrangement of the architectural drawings owned by the Society, cataloguing them according to architect and subject. This was particularly apropos inasmuch as a survey of such items, to result in eventual publication, is currently being made by the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects. From the indexes we have now compiled the Institute's questionnaires can more easily be completed, and it is anticipated that our collections will make a brave showing in the published survey.

During the year the card index for the Maryland map collections has been brought up to date and additional indexing is being done in regard to the plats or drafts of tracts in the respective counties. A further filing aid is for coats-of-arms in our possession. This index is maintained on cards in the genealogical section.

In 1964, 365 photography orders were prepared, a 20% increase over 1963. One hundred and three books were sent to the bindery; 200 books were repaired by hand; and 1050 were lettered with call numbers. All such housekeeping chores required checking and reshelving.

All manuscript materials received require acquisitioning, arrang-

ing, boxing, and shelving. At the end of the year all materials received had been completed through the first process. Mr. Bowers, in addition to assisting in the library, indexed a portion of the Redwood collection, numerous papers from the Scharf collection, a portion of the Gamble Latrobe papers, and innumerable miscellaneous items. Through a cooperative arrangement with certain students from Notre Dame College, it was possible to arrange a large portion of the Harper-Pennington papers which had previously no arrangement whatsoever. Approximately 5,000 cards were prepared for the manuscript collection.

In addition to activities relating primarily to the library, the staff participated in others. Mr. Eader assisted in the preparation of three exhibits, two permanent and one temporary. One of the permanent exhibits, recounting James Ryder Randall's writing of "Maryland, My Maryland" in the Confederate Room, has primarily a library interest.

During the year the Librarian addressed seven groups of various interests.

Accessions.

During the year, 484 "lots" of material were accessioned. Each accession, however, normally includes more than one item. The year's accessions have been reported in detail in *Maryland History Notes.* The following list, therefore, is but a brief resumé of some of the outstanding ones:

BOOKS

1. *Bylaws, muster rolls, and papers . . . of the First Troop Philadelphia City Calvary* . . . Philadelphia, 1815, with manuscript annotations by Thomas Peters relating to the Battle of Trenton and the capture of Hessian prisoners. (Gift of Miss Ellen Lindsay Peters, through Mrs. Slocum Ball, Jacksonville, Florida.)

2. A large collection of autographed and associated volumes relating to divers persons, including Lizette Woodworth Reese, Winston Churchill, Matthew Page Andrews, and others. (The gift of Mrs. Frank R. Kent, Baltimore.)

3. de Segur, Philip: *History of the Expedition to Russia undertaken by the Emperor Napoleon in the year 1812,* Philadelphia, 1825. (From the library of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, with his signature in two places; from the Brandeis University Women's Committee, through Mrs. Henry L. Robers, Baltimore.)

4. A large collection of books and other materials relating to Maryland, many of which were in new or fine condition. Though most of these books were duplicates, they were highly acceptable for that very reason. (From the estate of Mrs. B. K. Purdum, through Mrs. J. Allen Massey, Baltimore.)

5. Numerous additions were made to our collections of local history and genealogy. In the former case, we have added materially to our county histories and our collections of source material in Virginia and West Virginia. These border areas of Maryland are important in understanding the full history of this state. In the field of genealogy, the materials have come largely through gifts.

6. Mr. Richard H. Randall, Sr., has continued his valuable gifts in the field of

maritime books and ephemera. During the year, he presented 22 books, plus numerous magazines, newsletters and similar materials.

Manuscripts

1. The original draft signed of the Proclamation of George William-Brown, Mayor of Baltimore, prohibiting the display of flags in the City April 29, 1861. (From Mrs. George H. Grafflin, Baltimore.)
2. Letters of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Whittaker Chambers, John F. Kennedy, and others. (From Mrs. Frank R. Kent, Baltimore.)
3. The papers of William Ingle (1858-1943) relating to banking affairs, especially those pertaining to the establishment of the federal reserve banks. (From the Misses Elise, Pechin and Margaret Ingle, Baltimore.)
4. Letter of Thomas Johnson to the Assembly of Maryland declining election as Governor, November 13, 1788. (Purchased.)
5. Letter of John Quincy Adams to William Cost Johnson of Maryland November 2, 1841. (Purchased.)
6. Notes relating to the early land history of Western Maryland, including Pleasant Grove Church and Community and Notes from the Records of Old Monocacy. (From the compiler, Dr. Grace L. Tracey of Hampstead.)

Pictures

1. Forty-six glass negatives and 19 others of various subjects relating to Maryland. (From Mr. Walter C. Harvey, Baltimore.)
2. Lithograph of the Avalon Nail and Iron Works near Ellicott City, *circa* 1860. (From Carlisle R. Earp, Elkridge.)
3. Photographs of the Rumsey House, Joppa, *circa* 1890. (From Miss Victoria Gittings, Baltimore.)

Newspapers

[The dates given are not intended to be complete and collated, but indicate only the inclusive periods]:

1. *The Baltimore Clipper,* September 17 and December 7, 1849; February 5, 1852. (From Mr. H. F. Wheeden.)
2. *The New Era* (Baltimore) April 20, 1864.
3. *The Bee* (Baltimore) January 29, 1877—July 26, 1877.
4. *Chronicle of the Times* (Baltimore) October 20, 1830—September 24, 1831.
5. *The Baltimore Times,* March 31, 1852—September 22, 1852.
6. *The Freeman's Banner* (Baltimore) July 16, 1831—December 15, 1832.

Maps

1. *A Survey of Chesapeake Bay,* by Anthony de Mayne, R. N., 1814, published by the Hydrographical Office, London, 1820. (Purchased.)
2. *Map of Chesapeake Bay,* in four leaves, Paris, 1778. (From G. H. Pouder, Baltimore.)
3. *The Patapsco River and its Approaches,* 1856.
4. *Chart of the Delaware and Chesapeake Bay* (U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey) 1855.
5. *Entrances to the Chesapeake Bay* (U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey) 1855. (last three items all purchased.)

Microfilms

1. Notes of the Committee for the Restoration of the Old Senate Chamber in Annapolis, 1830-1941. (Material in the possession of the Society.)
2. Kinnaman, John Allen: *The Internal Revenues of Colonial Maryland,* n. d. (Dissertation, purchased.)
3. *The Maryland Gazette* (Baltimore) 1775-1791. (Four reels, from the Society's files.)
4. Assessment and tax lists of Maryland 1783. (Two reels, from originals owned by the Society.)

SPECIAL

Certain gifts to the library during the year fell into a class by themselves. Among these might be mentioned the valuable collection of materials, chiefly of a genealogical nature, presented by various chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Maryland:

1. *Cemetery Records of Hartford County, Maryland,* 2 volumes, and *Bible Records of Hartford County, Maryland,* 1 volume, from the Governor William Paca Chapter, Daughters of American Revolution, Belair.)
2. *Cemetery and Family Records of Cecil County, Maryland,* 2 volumes, from the Head of Elk Chapter, Daughters of American Revolution, Elkton.
3. Volumes 33 and 34 of the *Maryland Genealogical Records Committee,* 2 volumes, from the Maryland State Society, Daughters of American Revolution.

Martime Collections.

In addition to the collecting and arranging of maritime pictures and manuscripts, certain projects conducted in the library by Mr. Richard H. Randall, Sr. are of particular interest. Of greatest extent is a "ship file", the purpose of which is to indicate all pertinent information available about any vessel which has ever been connected with the Chesapeake Bay. The file is arranged by name of ship, each card containing pertinent information and references as to where further data may be found. This file contains at present an estimated 15,000 cards.

As interest in the "ship file" increased and as a result of numerous inquiries by readers, it became obvious that a valuable addition to our records would be a file of the names of ship captains. Usually these names were recorded in port of entry records and in most of the archives relating to specific ships. Primarily the names related to the period prior to 1850. To these are now being added names of shipbuilders, pilots, naval port officers and customs officers, especially before 1812. The file contains approximately 4,000 cards. A more recent file has been one concerning shipyards, more particularly those of the colonial and the early federal periods. (About 1,000 cards).

Mr. Randall has also been compiling in loose-leaf volumes a catalog of all different sailing and rowing vessels known in the world. These are illustrated with pertinent photographs or prints of models or of the actual vessels. At present this compilation exists in manuscript and it is believed that this is the most complete list existing anywhere. At present this comprises six volumes.

In the course of his compilations, Mr. Randall has added a file of Maryland privateers for the Pre-Revolution, the Revolution, the Psuedo-War with France, the Patriot Privateering, and the Texas Privateers eras: The above files are active, and additions constantly

are being made to them. The value of these research tools has already been amply proved.

Restoration of Manuscripts.

The Misses Gary and Taylor were constantly busy in the increased effort to preserve our valuable manuscripts. During the year approximately 1500 pieces were crepelined or mounted in part. The method in use at the Society consists of pasting to either side of the fragile paper an almost invisible sheet of silk chiffon, which lends body to the document itself, and protects the original surface. The method is painstaking, time-consuming and expensive. In many ways, however, we consider it superior to the cellulose acetate lamination process, inasmuch as the crepeline method does not change the actual character of the document. The ladies are able craftsmen who accomplish wonderful things in the fitting together of fragmentary manuscripts and restoring them to useable condition.

Special funds for the restoration of manuscript collections were provided by the Maryland State Society, Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, and the Daughters of Colonial Wars. Special attention was paid during the year to manuscripts from the following collections: Scharf, Stone (of Charles County), Latrobe, Hanson, Hill; and, of course, numerous separate items.

A special restoration project was undertaken for the Society through the generosity of Mr. George Harrison Sanford King of Richmond, Virginia. Mr. King had restored and bound in a substantial volume the King family papers in our possession. These papers are a considerable archive of the family for whom Kingsville, Harford County, is named. The papers were restored through the Barrow lamination process. A complete calendar of our previous holdings was made, and additional manuscripts were added to the collection as a gift of Mr. King.

Library Committee.

During the year three meetings of the Library Committee were held: on January 31, April 24, and September 24. Among significant items which appeared on the agenda were the following:

a) Discussion of the establishment of a manuscript division, and appointment of a curator of manuscripts. It was recognized that this was an important and significant aspect of the library's development, but aside from theoretical arrangements and paper planning, nothing concrete has yet been done. The appointment of a curator of manuscripts must depend upon the supplying by the Council of funds for such a purpose.

b) A resolution requesting the Council of the Society to increase

the operating library budget from $3,500 to $5,000 per fiscal year.

As is customarily the case, this detailed report, to which the Committee subscribes, was prepared by Mr. John D. Kilbourne, Assistant to the Director, Library and Archives.

HUNTINGTON WILLIAMS, *Chairman*

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

The duties of your committee on finance are to advise the Society in the management of its finance including the investment and reinvestment of funds given or left to the Society by members and friends to provide the facilities and the income to keep alive the historical and cultural development of Maryland.

Your committee believes strongly that expenses should be kept in line with income. We regret that income has been exceeded by expenditures in each of the last four years. The two principal reasons for these deficits have been: first, real estate income decreased as tenants vacated the West Monument Street properties on which the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building is being constructed; and second, expenses increased due to preparations for the new building. Fortunately, last year's deficit was kept to $2,309 with the generous assistance of a $10,000 contribution from the Jacob and Annita France Foundation.

Looking to the future we will, beginning in 1965, have additional endowment income from Mr. Jacob France's $250,000 bequest which was paid to the Society in September, 1964.

The committee met several times during the year to consider the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building program and its effect on the Society's finances. Upon completion of the building program, which involves total costs of $1,821,000, an estimated $1,279,000 will be available for the endowment fund provided for under the wills of William S. and John L. Thomas. We believe that the income from this endowment combined with the Society's other income will be about $10,000 less than minimum yearly expenses. In estimating expenses we made provision for what we regard as essential additions to the staff and from much needed improvement in salary scales.

Your committee believes that every effort should be made to increase the Society's income to match its needs. This calls for continued additions to endowment, more members, and the searching out of new sources of income.

In managing the Society's investments your committee seeks to obtain the best current income that can be produced by prudent

management. We also seek the growth of both principal and income.

The increase in the Society's endowment and investment income since 1956, shown in the following table, is due particularly to gifts and legacies received from Miss Josephine C. Morris, Mr. S. Bernard November, Mrs. Maurice Bouvier, Mr. A. Morris Tyson, Mr. Harry C. Black, Mrs. Laurence R. Carton, Mrs. Samuel K. Dennis, Miss Virginia A. Wilson, Miss Annie Smith Riggs, Miss Elizabeth Chew Williams, Mr. Summerfield Baldwin, Jr., Miss Jessie Marjorie Cook, Mr. Thomas C. Corner, Mrs. Andrew Robeson, Mr. Ernest Roberts, Mr. Frederick Foster, The Honorable J. Calvin Chesnut and Mr. Jacob France. Net income from the endowment and other investments in 1964 was reduced about $10,000 as a result of demolition of the West Monument Street houses.

Book Value of Endowment Investments, Income from Endowment Investment and Legacies, Dues and Contributions

	1964	*1959*	*1956*
Book value of endowment.....	$1,390,557	$801,308	$482,789
Net income, endowment, etc.....	40,698	38,730	26,385
Dues	26,279	26,509	17,072
Contributions	11,301	667	3,050

At this time we wish to express our appreciation of the devoted interest and leadership of Mr. Hooper S. Miles who served as chairman of our committee until his death on March 8, 1964.

ROBERT G. MERRICK, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

During the year estimates were obtained of the cost of reprinting certain volumes of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* that are out of print. Nearly an entire meeting was devoted to discussing the possibilities of reprinting scarce Maryland items and to the preparation of a cumulative index to the *Archives*. At the direction of the Committee, the director conferred with Dr. Paul F. Norton, Chairman of the Department of Art, University of Massachusetts, and Mr. J. Gilman Paul, Vice President of the Society, as to securing funds for the publication of the Latrobe Papers.

In the realm of the general publications of the Society, Mr. William V. Elder, III, was authorized to proceed with a plentifully illustrated book about the Green Spring Valley area, made possible through the generosity of the Middendorf Foundation.

To supply accurate information for high school students, the Society published a paperback titled *The War of 1812 on the Chesapeake Bay*, by Gilbert Byron.

CHARLES A. BARKER, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

January 1, 1964:			
Honorary Members	2		
Life Members	83		
Active Members	3494	3579	
New Members 1964:			
Life	5		
Active	185	190	3,769
Members lost in 1964:			
Deaths—Life	1		
Active	75		
Resignations	80		
In arrears two years dues	186		
County societies joint members not renewed since 1961	73		
			415
Total Membership December 31, 1964			3,354

* * *

Honorary	2	
Life	87	
Active	3265	3354
1964 net loss in membership		225

The preceding tabulation presents a true count of the membership. As provided under the Constitution of the Society, adopted February 10, 1964, all members in arrears for two or more years have been dropped. The net loss of 225 is not as serious as it may seem since a careful check of those dropped reveals that the majority of them joined the Society for one year only while using the facilities of the library.

* * *

The following shows the number of joint memberships in the various related societies:

Caroline	17	
Dorchester	21	
Maryland Genealogical Society	51	
Prince George's	143	
St. Mary's	22	
Somerset	10	264

Queen Anne's makes an annual contribution and receives one copy of publications.

CHARLES P. CRANE, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ADDRESSES

During 1964 the Society met in seven evening sessions as follows:

January 14—Joint meeting with the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities. The speaker was Mr. Robert G. Stewart, then Director, Department of Properties, National Trust for Historic Preservation, whose subject was: "Baltimore Is Too Hard To Get To, Or Some Aspects Of Preservation On The Eastern Shore."

February 10—Annual Meeting, covering the election of officers and committee members. Miss Elisabeth C. G. Packard, Director of the Conservation Department of the Walters Art Gallery, gave a talk on "Jewelry In and Out of Style."

April 7—Mr. J. Jefferson Miller, II, Assistant Curator, Division of Ceramics and Glass, Smithsonian Institution, spoke on "Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Market."

April 27—The speaker was Senator Daniel R. Brewster of Maryland whose topic was "Baltimore as a Leading Presidential Convention City."

May 7—Joint meeting with the Dorchester County Historical Society which included brief talks by prominent members of the visiting group.

November 16—Dr. Paul F. Norton, Chairman, Department of Art, University of Massachusetts, gave an address entitled "B. H. Latrobe and the Practice of Keeping a Journal."

December 7—The Honorable Edward S. Delaplaine of Frederick commented on the recent publication of his book, "Maryland in Law and History."

Two afternoon meetings were held, as follows:

March 10—Mrs. Elizabeth Townshend Trump, traveller and lecturer, gave an illustrated talk on "Pennsylvania Dutch Discoveries."

April 14—Mr. William V. Elder, III, of the Baltimore Museum of Art, spoke on "Furniture of the Federal Period."

The Committee welcomes suggestions for speakers.

HOWARD BAETJER, II, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAR RECORDS

During the year the Board of Public Works authorized the director of the Society's World War II Records Division to consult with the proper authorities at the State Department of Budget and Procurement relative to the publication of a *Register of Marylanders in World War II*. A contract was awarded and work proceeds on the proofreading of what will be the first of five 1000-page volumes which will list the name, rank, serial number, branch of service and community address of the State's World War II veterans. A listing in the *Register* will indicate that the World War II Records Division has some official evidence of service in its files.

JOHN T. MENZIES, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

At meetings held during the year the Committee discussed its objectives, and a subcommittee composed of Messrs. Bard, Slagle and Manakee was appointed to prepare a tentative draft of such objectives. Prolonged consideration also was given to the desirability of installing dioramas in the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building and to means of cooperating with the various school systems in the formation of a young people's membership of the Society.

At the request of the Chairman, the director of the Society, on March 20, spoke to a meeting of the county school superintendents in regard to increasing the Society's cooperation with the schools. As an outgrowth of that meeting, on July 27, the director spent a full day in Cumberland as a consultant to a teachers' workshop concerned with curriculum making in social studies. In addition to talks to a number of school assemblies, the director addressed the history students of Harford Junior College and appeared on several television programs sponsored by the Baltimore City Public Schools. Guided tours of the Society by 185 classes, totalling 6,528 young

people, were conducted by members of the Junior League working with Miss Selma Grether of the staff.

THOMAS G. PULLEN, JR., *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RELATIONS WITH OTHER SOCIETIES

The Annual Conference of the Association of Maryland Historical Societies was held at the Society on November 7, with 63 persons representing 28 organizations present. A constitution for the Association was adopted. Mr. Orlando V. Ridout, IV, and Mr. Harold R. Manakee were elected president and secretary-treasurer, respectively. Numerous reports were presented as to progress and plans of the societies represented, and the luncheon meeting was addressed by Dr. Aubrey C. Land of the University of Maryland who discussed the subject, "Writing Maryland History—Pitfalls and Opportunities."

Upon recommendation of the director of the Society, the Montgomery County Historical Society was awarded a Certificate of Commendation by the American Association for State and Local History for the publication of *The Montgomery County Story*, a quarterly devoted to the dissemination of the history of the area.

During the year the director spoke at historical societies in Washington, St. Mary's, Carroll and Cecil counties in Maryland and at the Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society in Virginia. Also he conferred with officials in Talbot County in regard to the town museum and the maritime museum at St. Michaels and the town museum at Oxford. He served as a group discussion leader and panel member at the first annual conference of the Council of the Alleghenies and participated in the dedication by the Jewish Historical Society of Maryland of the newly restored Lloyd Street Synagogue.

ROSAMOND R. BEIRNE, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE MARITIME COLLECTION

Accessions to the maritime collection during 1964 numbered 167. The interest in rowing- and swimming-club items generated last year, largely by Mr. Richard H. Randall, Sr., continued through the year, with many insignia, plaques, trophies, banners, photographs and several oars coming to the collection as gifts of Miss Jessie Slee, Mrs. J. Oliver Bristow, Mrs. Charles T. Howard and the late William Allers.

Mr. G. H. Pouder, chairman, presented two oils, one of the clipper ship *Empress of the Seas* and the other of the packet ship *Shackamaxon*, both by Antonio Jacobsen. The same donor presented an interesting map of Chesapeake Bay, noted in the report of the Library Committee. From Captain Frederick Eastman USCG (Ret.) came a print after De Simone, Naples, 1862, of the U.S. Corvette *Constellation*, designed by Chief Naval Constructor Lenthall in 1853. Mr. Eldon Willing, Sr. and Captain Benjamin Evans presented a model of the skipjack *Robert L. Webster* made by Herman Stine, Jr. of Wenona. From the curator came a model, made by him, and complete with case and stand, of a colonial ketch after a watercolor of 1670 reproduced in *Chesapeake Bay* by Marion Brewington. Dr. Reginald Truitt presented a model of Blunt's Wharf and Warehouse which once stood in Warehouse Creek, Kent Island. The actual building housed troops during the Revolutionary War, and the wharf was used by steamboats for years. Other maritime acquisitions are listed in the report of the Library Committee.

In the absence from the country of Mr. Pouder, chairman, this report is signed by the acting curator.

R. Hammond Gibson, *Acting Curator*

REPORT OF THE THOMAS AND HUGG MEMORIAL BUILDING COMMITTEE

On October 19, 1965, the contract for the construction of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building was executed by the Society and the Lacchi Construction Company of Baltimore, the low bidders. The traditional and symbolic groundbreaking ceremonies were held on the site on November 23, the Commission for Architectural and Historic Preservation approved the plans on December 9, and excavation began December 21. As an economy move, it was decided not to include in the present contract the interior finish of the third floor.

Abbot L. Penniman, Jr., *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE WOMEN'S COMMITTEE

Members of the Committee continued to render practical help to the staff, with Mrs. Kenneth Bourne typing, filing and checking in the library, and Mrs. Charles Webb, Mrs. Swepson Earle and Miss Pechin Ingle performing similar services in the registrar's office where Mrs. George W. Williams classified collections of lace presented during the year, and Mrs. J. Nicholas Shriver assisted in re-

furbishing picture frames. Miss Louisa Gary restored many manuscripts for the library.

Subcommittees with the following chairmen arranged the exhibitions noted: Mrs. W. T. Dixon Gibbs, jewelry; Mrs. B. Frank Newcomer, Mrs. Gibbs and Mrs. Edwin Pond, Oriental Export ware; Mrs. Edward K. Dunn, fans; Mrs. Bourne, Maryland music and instruments; and Mrs. Williams, the Latrobe collection. Mrs. Gibbs conscientiously has kept up to date the Society's scrap book.

Mrs. Webb and the chairman lectured to a group at Keswick and showed slides at the Emilie McKim Reed Lecture sponsored by the Colonial Dames. Many members were hostesses at the Annual Tea for New Members, the Conference of the Association of Historical Societies, and the Society's Annual Meeting. The house subcommittee under Mrs. William G. Baker made a number of suggestions, all of which were acted upon as soon as possible.

KATHARINE S. SYMINGTON, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL PROJECTS COMMITTEE

The Special Projects Committee continued its interest in the Society, meeting several times, and presenting another Maryland Heritage Award. The 1964 award went to Mr. Wilbur Harvey Hunter, Jr., director of the Peale Museum, with special mention being made of the Mother Elizabeth Seton House restoration in Baltimore and the Maryland National Bank's reconstruction of an old building in St. Michaels.

Members of the Committee continue to be advanced to other committees of the Society, and to serve in a liaison with other interested cultural institutions in the State.

C. A. PORTER HOPKINS, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

For the Year 1964

October Twenty Sixth
Nineteen Hundred Sixty Four

Maryland Historical Society
Baltimore, Maryland

We have examined the accompanying Balance Sheet of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland, as of September 30, 1964 and the related Statement of Operations for the year then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the accompanying statements present fairly the assets and liabilities of the Maryland Historical Society as of September 30, 1964, income received and expenditures disbursed during the year then ended.

Robert W. Black
Certified Public Accountant

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
BALANCE SHEET—SEPTEMBER 30, 1964

Assets

Current Fund		
Cash in Bank—Operating Fund	4,764.94	
Cash in Bank—Building Fund	197.77	
Cash on Hand	100.00	
Accounts Receivable—Magazine Indexing	625.00	
Accounts Receivable—Other	10,000.00	
Due from Endowment Fund	27,245.33	
Total Current Assets		42,933.04
Fixed Assets		
Real Estate	100,000.00	
Air Conditioning	10,330.00	
Books	1.00	
Manuscripts and Prints	1.00	
Paintings and Statutary	1.00	
Furniture and Fixtures	1.00	
Total Fixed Assets		10,334.00
Total Current Fund Assets		153,267.04
Special Fund		
Cash in Bank—Special Fund	18,400.72	
Due from Current Fund	15,261.86	
Total Special Fund	33,662.58	
Restricted Fund		
Cash		22,322.38

Endowment Fund		
Cash Corpus	5,940.57	
Cash Deposit—Baltimore Equitable Society	90.00	
Mortgage Receivable	8,532.18	
Real Estate—Investment and Future Site—At Cost (Note 1)	579,608.95	
Securities—(Loans collateral $119,274.21)—At Cost	792,803.80	
Due from Current Fund	3,582.30	
TOTAL ENDOWMENT FUND ASSETS		1,390,557.80
		1,599,809.80

NOTE 1: The Endowment Fund Real Estate includes an amount of $90,721.49 which represents expenditures made in connection with the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building. These expenditures are over and above acquisition costs for the site.

LIABILITIES AND FUNDS

Current Fund		
Due to Special Fund	15,261.86	
Due to Williams Fund	3,582.30	
Notes Payable (Note 2)	70,000.00	
Accrued Salaries and Expenses	4,915.03	
TOTAL CURRENT LIABILITIES		93,759.19
Net Worth		
Reserve for Latrobe Papers Repair Fund	2,498.31	
Surplus—Schedule A-1	57,009.54	
TOTAL NET WORTH		59,507.85
TOTAL CURRENT FUND LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH		153,267.04
Special Fund		
Special Fund Account—Exhibit C	33,662.58	
TOTAL SPECIAL FUND		33,662.58
Restricted Fund		
Restricted Funds—Exhibit D		22,322.38
Endowment Fund		
Due to Current Fund	27,245.33	
Endowment Fund Reserve—Schedule A-2	899,428.48	
Daingerfield Fund Reserve	183,088.43	
Wild Fund Reserve	68,696.47	
Williams Fund Reserve	212,099.09	
TOTAL ENDOWMENT FUND LIABILITY AND RESERVES		1,390,557.80
		1,599,809.80

NOTE 2: Expenditures incurred in connection with the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building (see note 1) necessitated the temporary use of borrowed funds.

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS
CURRENT FUND

FOR THE YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1964

INCOME		
Dues and Contributions		
Dues	26,279.00	
Contributions	11,301.85	
TOTAL DUES AND CONTRIBUTIONS		37,580.85
Investment Income		
Securities—Net	28,733.87	
Real Estate—Net	8,469.43	
Trusts	3,494.90	
TOTAL INVESTMENT INCOME		40,698.20
From the State of Maryland		
State Programs	11,879.76	
Archives	5,665.88	
State Index	4,157.63	
TOTAL STATE OF MARYLAND INCOME		21,703.27
Other Income		
Sales of Publications	10,759.68	
Magazine Advertising	740.60	
Library Service Charges and Fees	417.12	
Sales Tax Commission	2.15	
TOTAL OTHER INCOME		11,919.55
TOTAL INCOME		111,901.87
EXPENDITURES		
Salaries and Wages		
Salaries	70,597.70	
Pensions	4,128.38	
Social Security	1,580.74	76,306.82
Library		
Books and Manuscripts	2,699.05	
Binding	858.77	
Supplies and Photostats	982.79	4,540.61
Gallery and Museum		
Repairs	924.31	
Exhibit Supplies	172.33	
Transportation and Storage	1,179.25	
Miscellaneous	172.29	2,448.18
Publications		
Magazine and Bulletin		12,377.48

Building Maintenance		
Maintenance and Repairs	1,401.50	
Supplies	528.87	
Light and Heat	4,038.14	
Insurance	3,257.63	9,226.14
State Funds (Non Salary)		
Index Fund	170.92	
Magazine Indexing	113.65	284.57
Other Expenditures		
Pension Expense	1,714.92	
Membership Extensions	172.49	
Addresses	1,235.14	
Office Supplies	1,088.97	
Telephone	1,440.83	
Postage	877.82	
Printing and Photography	227.00	
Extra Services	117.33	
Travel	578.94	
Microfilming	576.87	
Awards	332.50	
Gratuities	421.25	
Miscellaneous	233.06	9,027.12
TOTAL EXPENDITURES		114,210.92
EXCESS OF EXPENDITURES OVER INCOME		(2,309.05)

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INSURANCE

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